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ABSTRACT

This book presents an autobiographical look at one man's first-hand experience with the evolution of national service from 1945 through 1988. Throughout the account significant documents and articles by the author and others are included such as newspaper and magazine articles, significant correspondence from national and government leaders, and congressional hearing testimony. The chapters are as follows: (1) "1946-1950: High School and College, The Impact of War, An Idea Takes Root"; (2) "1951-1960: Service in the Army, Service in Nigeria, National Service"; (3) "1961-1967: The Peace Corps, Return to Nigeria, The First National Service Conference"; (4) "1967-1971: Service Learning, A Bill for National Service, A National Service Project"; (5) 1971-1980: The Pilot Project Succeeds, Working with the Roosevelts, Youth Service in Britain, China and Cuba"; (6) "1981-1988: Alternative Service: Fostering Local Service Initiatives, A Coalition is Formed." A final chapter presents reflections on past achievements and failures along with suggestions for what may be in the future. Included is a table of exhibits of the documents included in the text, a 70-item bibliography, and an index. (JB)

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NATIONAL SERVICE

A Promise to Keep

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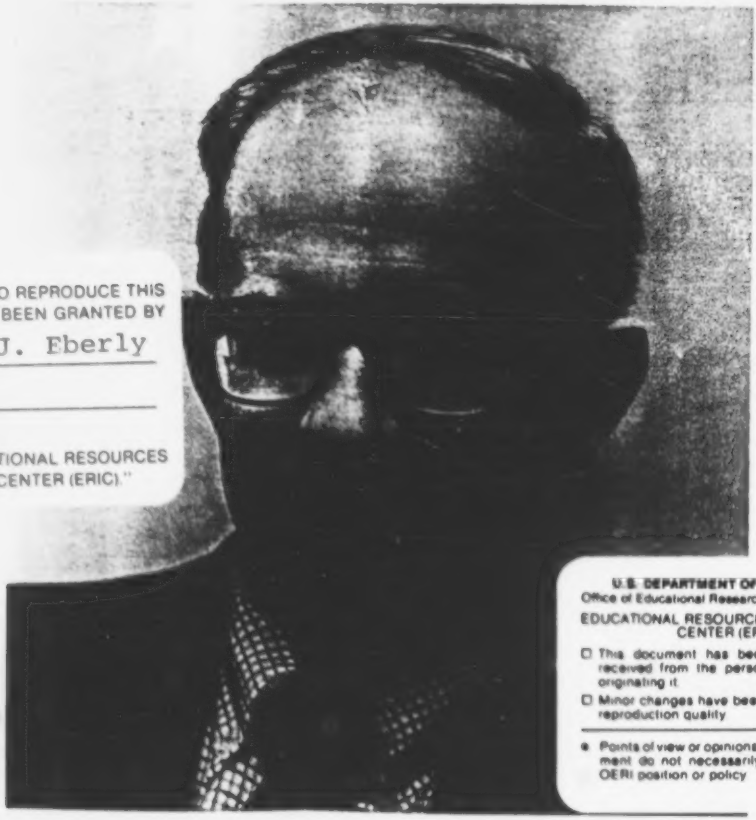

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Donald J. Eberly

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NATIONAL SERVICE: A Promise to Keep Donald J. Eberly

'There has been no one in America more dedicated to the concept of national service than Don Eberly. He writes with a passion that grows out of his own life of service. I hope many will read this book and be inspired by Don as I have been.'

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President Emeritus
University of Notre Dame

'There is plenty of room for debate on the particulars, but the idea of a National Youth Service has a lot going for it. ...there is plenty of work that desperately needs doing. Don't be surprised if, at long last, Eberly pulls it off.' [pp. 183, 184]

William Raspberry
The Washington Post

'Don Eberly has worked tirelessly to keep the subject of national service on the public policy agenda of America for over three decades. This book is an important reference on the public debate over national service since World War II. Everyone concerned with the development of a national service program owes Don Eberly a debt of gratitude for his lifetime of dedicated service to this objective.'

Senator Sam Nunn, Chairman
Committee on Armed Services

'Like Don Eberly, I have long felt that youth and volunteer service are very important for our country. Mr. Eberly has played a vital role in the national service movement over many years, and his experience, leadership, and ideas are all valuable assets in the ongoing effort to promote the concept of national service. His latest book reminds us how far national service has come and how far it has yet to go.'

Representative Leon Panetta, Chairman
Committee on the Budget

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Son of a Methodist minister from a small town in Northern New York, Donald Eberly is living proof that one person can make a difference – even in today's complex society. Here is an insider's view of the goings-on of Washington bureaucracy by a man who, quite single-handedly without "influence," has been able to reach appropriate people in government and to effect legislation – for a cause which could be crucial for America.

Donald Eberly has been absolutely steadfast in pursuing the national service ideal over most of his career. Don's is an absorbing story for its own sake. But more important is his mission which he has dutifully served for decades and is yet unfulfilled. He continues to serve it in this book as he describes the rationale, the design and the evolution of national service.

NATIONAL SERVICE:
A PROMISE TO KEEP is both a personal account of the thrills and throes of the pursuit of national service and an authoritative reference.

Donald Eberly and his wife, Louise, live in Washington, D.C. Their daughter, Julie, lives in New Zealand with her husband and three children.

Mr. Eberly has degrees from MIT and Harvard and served in the U.S. Army.

Introduced to Sargent Shriver in 1961 as "the first Peace Corps Volunteer," the author describes his early successes and failures as a teacher in Nigeria – where Donald and Louise were married.

Mr. Eberly is executive director of the National Service Secretariat (1966) and the Coalition for National Service (1986). He is also retired from Selective Service.

Donald Eberly is the author of several books and numerous articles, some of which are compiled in this volume.

NATIONAL SERVICE:
A PROMISE TO KEEP covers:
...the 1950s when national service was a model for the Peace Corps,
...the 1960s when national service was seen as an alternative to the military draft,
...the 1970s when national service was touted as a major part of the answer to the problem of youth unemployment,
...and the 1980s with national service as a model for state and local youth service initiatives.

Also by Donald J. Eberly

A Profile of National Service
(National Service Secretariat, 1966)

National Service: A Report on a Conference
(Russell Sage Foundation, 1968)

National Service:
Social, Economic and Military Impacts
(With Michael W. Sherraden, Pergamon Press, 1982)

NATIONAL SERVICE: A PROMISE TO KEEP

by

Donald J. Eberly

John Alden Books
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PREFACE

What follows is unique. Son of a Methodist minister from a small town in Northern New York, Donald Eberly is living proof that one person can make a difference – even in today's complex society. Here is an insider's view of the goings-on of Washington bureaucracy by a man who, quite single-handedly without "influence," has been able to reach appropriate people in government and to effect legislation – for a cause which could be crucial for America.

Donald Eberly has been absolutely steadfast in pursuing the national service ideal over most of his career. Don's is an absorbing story for its own sake. But more important is his mission which he has dutifully served for decades and is yet unfulfilled. He continues to serve it in this book as he describes the rationale, the design and the evolution of national service. It is indeed a promise worth keeping.

John Stevens
Editor and Publisher

Dear Nicholas, Anna and Sarah,

You may some day read these words in a history textbook:

> Following a 1906 speech by William James in which he advocated a moral equivalent of war, the debate on national service waxed and waned for nearly a century before it was finally adopted by the United States.

This was the kind of approach to history I encountered in high school and it failed to ignite much interest in the subject. By contrast, history assignments in college steered me to copies of original documents and to contemporary accounts of historical events. Reading these papers made history come alive for me and led me to feel that I had a decent understanding of what had happened in the period under study.

With this background in mind, it occurred to me that you might like to read what I have had to say about national service over the years, together with a commentary to weave the pieces together and to describe relevant events. As a matter of fact, the commentary sections of this book began as a letter to Nicholas and Anna, before Sarah was born.

A 1976 suggestion by Willard Wirtz has also figured in my decision to write this book. He said that I owed it to history to write about my first-hand experience with the evolution of national service. If Ralph Waldo Emerson was right when he said that all history is subjective, that "there is properly no history; only biography," then a personalized approach to the evolution of national service over the last forty years would seem to be fitting.

In addition to you and the historians, some people may be interested in national service as a current policy issue. For them, this book may be useful since it deals with the many dimensions of national service, puts them into a temporal perspective, and contains enough references to people and to publications to permit a comprehensive look at national service.

With the possibility of this broader readership, I decided to drop some of the family references and address the book to a wider audience. Still, the three of you have been foremost in my mind as I have written these pages.

I had thought about writing a year-by-year account of national service ever since Bill Wirtz suggested it, but there always seemed to be other things to do that would be of greater help in moving toward the right kind of national service.

Times have changed. Interest in national service is on the rise and hundreds of people – including many young people – are promoting national service in a wide variety of ways. It seems probable that some form of national service will come into being before the end of the 20th century. The final piece fell into place in 1986 when I went to my fortieth high school reunion and talked with my old buddy, John Stevens, who said that he had recently entered the publishing business. This appealed to me because I had been disappointed with the outcomes when I had simply handed over a manuscript to a publisher. Working with John would give me the kind of control I had over *A Profile of National Service* (1966), which turned out the way I wanted it to.

Who knows what the future holds? Some of it is within our control; some is not. I only hope that by the time you are telling stories to your grandchildren, you will include some tales of your adventures while you were in national service – and you will tell them you once knew a guy who saw its promise...

Love,

Grandpa

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1946–1950

High School and College
The Impact of War
An Idea Takes Root

This was a good time to be an American. The United States had been the decisive force in winning the greatest war in history. In so doing, and with its possession of the atomic bomb, it had become the dominant world power. We were feared by potential enemies. We were respected by people in colonial territories (now pretty much the Third World) for having broken away from a colonial power, for having made good as an independent nation, and for our identification with independence movements. Our economy was booming. The dollar was strong. The general attitude was, "We can do anything we want to."

* * *

The value of original references is mentioned in my letter to my grandchildren (p. 1). Their importance is illustrated in the preparation of this narrative. For years, I had been saying that 1950 was the starting point of my interest in national service. But, when I consulted my high school yearbook in preparation for our fortieth reunion in 1986, I was reminded that, as editor-in-chief, I had written this brief memorial:

> *There were sixty-one former students at Watertown High School [NY] who made the supreme sacrifice in World War II. These men, as well as the 2,057 others who served in the war from Watertown High School, fought with the knowledge that their country, above all, must be assured the victory.*
>
> *This they accomplished. In all fairness, it is now up to us to fight equally as hard and to cooperate with all nations to perpetuate the peace of the world.*

World War II and its timely conclusion made a profound impact on the Class of 1946. We were the cohort scheduled to be drafted next into the armed forces. As such, we were greatly relieved that we would not be called on to go into battle and we felt a deep sense of gratitude to those who had gone and had been victorious.

While my statement of 1946 may be called a root of my later ideas about national service, it was not an unusual sentiment for its time.

A Student at MIT

An opportunity to manifest this underlying feeling presented itself in my sophomore year at MIT. I had entered in 1946 resolved to find out how well I could do in physics. I had received a freshman scholarship and decided I would shun extra-curricular activities in an attempt to have the scholarship extended for another year. To do that I had to obtain an average of 3.90 out of 5.00. I was shocked when my first year's report showed a 3.89 average. I stuck by my bargain and went out for the school newspaper, *The Tech*, partly because of an interest in journalism and partly to find out what was happening outside the classroom.

As a reporter for *The Tech*, I received assignments to cover guest lectures and other one-time events. I had one permanent assignment, the MIT Chapter of the National Student Association (NSA). The NSA was a national body that had been formed in 1947 by American students who had attended a meeting of the International Union of Students in Prague and had concluded that it was dominated by the Soviet Union. The Americans felt it was important to establish a body controlled by students rather than by a government.

Early in its lifetime of about twenty years, the NSA was divided into two camps, one comprised of those who wanted to debate the issues of the day like civil rights and communism, and the other comprised of those who wanted to do projects of benefit to students, like discount cards and low-cost charter flights to and from Europe.

The MIT Chapter was clearly in the latter camp.

Under the leadership of Earl W. Eames, Jr., Norman Beecher and Lloyd Haynes, it came up with a proposal for bringing graduate students from the war-torn countries of Europe to MIT for a summer to catch up on scientific and engineering advances of the war years.

The MIT Foreign Student Summer Project

With invitations going not only to the Allied countries but also to the Axis powers of Germany and Italy, as well as to Iron Curtain countries, it was unabashedly an experiment in international understanding as well as in scientific education.

Called the MIT Foreign Student Summer Project (FSSP), it was in the spirit of the times. The FSSP was consistent with the plan, announced at the 1947 Harvard Commencement by Secretary of State George C. Marshall, in which the U.S.A. would help rebuild Europe providing Europeans would apply themselves.

Although the Iron Curtain countries were invited to participate in the Marshall Plan, they declined; however, several students from Poland did attend MIT in the summer of 1948 for the first FSSP project.

By 1950, FSSP had expanded to other countries that had been in the war, such as Japan and New Zealand, and to a number of less-developed countries in Africa and Asia. FSSP phased out after about seven years.

Ironically, NSA collapsed in the late 1960s following revelations that it had been receiving financial support from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) since the early 1950s.

The importance of FSSP in this chronicle is that soon after my assignment to cover the NSA, Earl Eames asked me to become publicity director for FSSP. I accepted and soon found myself immersed in the project.

For both better and worse, we were spoiled by men like MIT President Karl Compton, Dean of Students Everett Moore Baker and Foreign Student Adviser Paul Chalmers. They judged our proposal on merit rather than who we were and they permitted us to negotiate directly with embassy and State Department officials. Most importantly, they trusted us to act responsibly. As a result, I developed great faith in "the system" but,

lacking any natural political antennae, was ill-prepared for the political games I would later encounter.

In my junior year, I had to decide between *The Tech* and NSA as my major activity and chose the latter. Although journalism was fun and interesting, it could not compare with NSA for importance and, as I was becoming more and more interested in some kind of international work, what I figured might be my long-range career interests.

Career Options

"What to do next?" was a major question during my senior year. I followed several leads.

First, I registered with the career office, expressing an interest in matters scientific and international. The only interview this produced was with the CIA. Its emphasis in 1950 was more on intelligence gathering than on covert operations but the job they described – to be posted overseas and clip relevant articles from newspapers and journals and analyze them – was the kind of desk job that held little attraction for me.

I did not apply to graduate school because, after sixteen years in the classroom, I wanted to get out of it for a time.

I did have a memorable interview with DuPont. It was arranged by Prof. Arthur Cobb Hardy, my thesis adviser and the man in whose lab I held a part-time job in 1949-50. My thesis and my work centered on the recording spectrophotometer, a Hardy invention that produced a graph over the visible spectrum of the percentage of light reflected by the object being tested.

It was reasonable of Hardy to assume that I would be interested in a job in DuPont's colorimetry lab which involved standardizing the colors of paints and other materials. It was all quite interesting until I met the man who had been doing this work. He had had the job for forty years and was ready to retire. Suddenly I had a picture of myself at age sixty-one about to retire from the same place and I almost ran out of the lab. I suppose it had been below the surface, but this interview convinced me that I did not want to spend my

career in a laboratory.

The third line of career exploration was the one for which I was least prepared academically, international affairs. Prof. Norman Padelford had selected me in 1949 to represent MIT at the Student Conference on United States Affairs at West Point. I found that my experience with FSSP enabled me to hold my own with students from other colleges, many of whom specialized in international politics and the like. Either at that conference or shortly after, I learned of twenty-five State Department internships that would be open to the Class of 1950. This struck me as the ideal next step. It committed neither me nor the government to one another, but would permit us to see whether we were well suited for each other. If not, I would do something else.

Through all of this, I was not the least worried about getting a job. We were in the midst of the post-war boom and an MIT graduate in physics or anything else would have no trouble getting a job.

Neither did any of us MIT seniors worry about being drafted. The draft was in effect, after having lapsed and having been restored a year or two earlier, but draft calls were low and the selective nature of the draft pretty much excluded scientists from being called.

I applied for the State Department internship and advanced through the competition to the interview stage. Mine was held in New York City in mid-June and I thought I did well. Because my physics degree made me different from most other applicants, and because few could best the practical experience and commitment indicated by my FSSP work, I felt fairly confident of receiving an internship.

A Trip to Europe

A day or two after the interview, I took off for Birmingham, England, where I had a summer job with the Dunlop Rubber Company. I had arranged this through NSA and the International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience (IAESTE) as a way to get overseas for the first time and to see a number of

FSSP friends on their home turf.

I had just arrived in Birmingham when war broke out in Korea (June 25, 1950). Several weeks later, I received a post card from the draft board ordering me to take a physical exam. I wrote back and explained that I would do so when I returned home in September. The State Department notified me that I had not won an internship. (Only when I inquired about this later did I learn that they had accepted as interns twenty-three women and two men, both of whom were veterans. I was told that because a war was on, they did not want to take the chance of becoming the focus of controversy over someone's draft status.)

The consequences of World War II were everywhere. On July 4, I received word that a high official of Dunlop wanted to take me out for a drink after work. This led to considerable jesting by my co-workers as I was low man on the totem pole in our lab, where I tested the elasticity and the breaking point of certain fabrics. They wondered if I was rich or had famous relatives. The mystery was solved over drinks at a fine club. The official was so grateful for the American help in saving Britain and winning World War II that he had resolved always to take an American out for a drink on our Independence Day. This event brought home to me the extent to which all citizens are ambassadors when they are overseas.

I saw the devastation of war. A square mile of buildings near St. Paul's Cathedral in London had been flattened by German bombing raids. When I want on to Germany in August for the first FSSP reunion, I saw comparable destruction in Berlin and other German cities.

During this time, I had begun to think in earnest about my draft notice. My thought process went like this: I hoped the war would end soon and with it, draft calls. If not, I knew I could not be deferred as a student since I had recently graduated, and did not expect to be deferred as an essential scientist since I had so little experience. I thought I might fail the physical exam because I had not met the eyesight requirements in my second year of compulsory ROTC and had been released. Still, I knew the chances were slim because the

physical standards were reportedly lower for draftees than for officers, and lower during wartime than in peacetime. I did not resolve anything; the future was uncertain.

Reminders of both World War II and the Korean War were again present upon my departure from Europe. I arrived in Luxembourg in time for my charter flight back to the U.S.A. only to learn that it had been postponed indefinitely because half of the company's airplanes (two out of four) had been taken over by the U.S. government to ferry troops to Korea.

This did not bother me since I was in no rush to return home and be drafted. I didn't even have time to worry about how I would pay for food and lodging since I was placed with one of the many families that had opened their homes to stranded American students.

I spent a week with an elderly couple who farmed a small orchard. Every day the farmer and I walked to the orchard to check on it. One day he announced we had to leave early to go on a special walk. It was to the site of a big battle between German and American troops about six years earlier. He explained details of the battle as we proceeded to the cemetery where thousands of American troops lay buried. Once again, I had benefited from hospitality that those who deserved it could not receive.

My Dilemma Resolved

Upon returning home, I had the physical exam and got a job at MIT's Project Whirlwind (an early computer). Although I was still not comfortable with it, I expected to be drafted soon. I realized that I had an obligation to serve but wondered how I could best serve.

I heard Bishop John Wesley Lord of the Methodist Church give a talk at Boston University. He referred to something called the A-3 program, a three-year assignment in Africa for lay persons.

I applied for one of these positions and wrote to President Truman saying I thought I could serve mankind and my country better as an A-3 than as a draftee. A Selective Service official wrote back and said that was

not an option.

Perhaps because of that letter, which was couched more in terms of national policy than personal decision-making, I began to think about my situation in larger terms. I wondered about the contrast between our China policy of the 1930s and our war policy of the 1940s. We had heard about the poor and starving people of China in the thirties, yet we did little to alleviate the situation except send small shipments of food and some missionaries.

Presumably we could not do more because of the Depression. How could we feed others if we could not feed ourselves? Yet the Depression did not deter us from going to war in 1941. Of course, national defense was more important than foreign aid. Still, I had the feeling that if we had wanted to help China in a major way, we could have done so. Given our success at putting large scale resources into World War II and the Marshall Plan, couldn't we apply ourselves similarly in other needy situations?

These were the kinds of thoughts that were occupying my mind when, late in 1950, the answer to my dilemma crystallized. Once again, I made a bargain with myself. Once drafted, I would observe the contribution I made as a soldier and then, if I survived, I would serve overseas in a civilian capacity and compare the contribution I made in the two forms of service. Then, if the idea had any validity in this individual test, I would consider its development on a larger scale.

1951–1960

Service in the Army
Service in Nigeria
National Service

This covers three overlapping periods in American history; namely, the Korean War, the Eisenhower years and McCarthyism. Americans generally supported the Korean War, regarding it as an appropriate responsibility of a major power. Further, it had been endorsed by the United Nations. For the most part, the Eisenhower years were characterized by Americans feeling good about themselves and their place in the world. It was probably not surprising that college students were criticized by their elders for being apathetic. Commencement speakers tried to incite them to take up a cause. Other countries developed nuclear weapons but America's economic dominance continued. The accusations and suspicion and fear generated by Senator Joseph McCarthy seemed to be an aberration on American society.

* * *

This Is the Army

At last, my mind was eased. The decision to perform an experiment during and after military service removed the agony of uncertainty and permitted me to stand a little apart from the grind of Army life.

I packed my belongings and left them with my grandparents in Beverly, Massachusetts, and was inducted into the U.S. Army in Boston on February 4, 1951. I did the full fourteen or sixteen weeks of basic training with about 240 other men in Company K at Fort Dix, New Jersey.

As it drew to a close, tension rose as we wondered what our next assignment would be. There were few real surprises. Several of the gung-ho types – there were some volunteers amongst us – were sent elsewhere to train as paratroops or to attend officer candidate

school. Those of us who were science graduates were given an appropriate military occupation specialty – mine was physics – and assigned somewhere in the U.S. The majority were assigned to report to a base en route to Korea.

My assignment was to nearby Ft. Monmouth, New Jersey. I was fortunate and knew it. With New York City only an hour away and with up-to-date facilities, Ft. Monmouth had the reputation of being the country club among bases. With my assignment as a physicist to a unit that was clearly not headed overseas, my chances of being sent to fight in Korea were remote.

And that is where I met my wife-to-be, Louise Genthner. We met at a dance and I think I saw the handwriting on the wall before she did. Shortly after we met, she mentioned that she would not see me the next week as she was going to the dance at the officer's club. That evening, I doffed my Pfc. uniform, put on civilian clothing, and walked into the officer's club as if I owned the place. Louise was not amused.

My major project at Ft. Monmouth was to build a recording spectroradiometer to measure the amount of light emitted across the spectrum by various phosphors. This was a sensible assignment as it was similar to the work I had done with Prof. Arthur C. Hardy at MIT.

The work went rather slowly because we were dealing with very low light intensities. These levels of light were made even lower by having to break them up into their component wavelengths. It was difficult to get photometers and galvanometers sufficiently sensitive to the low levels of light and of currents.

My spectroradiometer project was about two-thirds complete when I was reassigned as chief of the wind data section at White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico. This was not an unwelcome development since my relationship with Louise had temporarily cooled and since I would get to see a different part of the country.

My job there was to monitor the wind levels near the ground when missiles were fired. I had to be on call for firings but there was a lot of extra time, so I did such things as write for the post newspaper, study Spanish, and collect second-hand goods for the Salvation Army in El Paso in a U.S. Army truck.

A Teacher in Nigeria

After my discharge in February 1953, it was back to Boston. Earl Eames and Lloyd Haynes had started an international consulting firm. They invited me to work for them while I looked for a job overseas.

In June I found a job as the first "placee" in Nigeria of the International Development Placement Association (IDPA).

By 1953 Europe was well on the road to recovery and the focus of some persons interested in world affairs was shifting to the less developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The IDPA, headed by Peter Weiss and with Harris Wofford on the board of directors, was a small, private initiative, created to place Americans in teaching and other positions in these countries.

There was little red tape. Peter Weiss interviewed me and recommended me to Tai Solarin, principal of Molusi College, Ijebu Igbo, Nigeria.

I was thrilled when the confirming cable arrived a few days later: "We want Donald Eberly – Tai Solarin."

The next few weeks were busy. I arranged to sail for England in early August on the Ile de France. I shipped my car and lots of books to Molusi College, a residential secondary school for boys.

I looked up Nigeria in the encyclopedia and saw it referred to as the white man's grave. At MIT I found Daniel Badejo, a Nigerian student who was a gold mine of information. I had been receiving conflicting advice over whether to take my golf clubs with me and he said words to this effect: "Of course. You are a European (white man) and won't be respected by the Nigerians if you don't behave like one."

And I struck a bargain with someone other than myself. If I found Nigeria livable, Louise would follow me there and we would get married.

As I was waving goodbye to Louise from the deck of the Ile de France, she shouted that Senator John F. Kennedy was on board. He was famous at the time for having just won his seat by going to lots of tea parties in Massachusetts and charming the women who attended.

Since I had spent some time recently encouraging people to write their congressmen in support of a foreign aid measure, I decided to ask Kennedy about the results.

It was necessary to make an appointment since he was in first class, I was in third, and a pass was needed to go from one to the other. I talked with him in his room for about fifteen minutes and found him affable and generally more impressive than his reputation had led me to expect.

After an FSSP reunion in Great Britain, I went on to Nigeria and arrived there on October 1. It took me only one day to ascertain the livability of Nigeria.

I so advised Louise. She arrived in mid-December and we were married by Rev. Amos Solarin, Tai's brother, at Agbeni Methodist Church in Ibadan on December 20th. Soon she was teaching English at Molusi College.

As I began my civilian service, I had expected it would be at least a year before I could make any comparison with my contribution while in military service.

Such was not to be. On the day I arrived, Tai Solarin called together the 300 students and announced that with my arrival, the seniors would be able to sit for the School Certificate exams in science in December. Students were allowed to take these exams only if a science graduate was on the staff. Molusi's only science graduate had left earlier that year. Just by being there and holding a science degree, I was a godsend to a few dozen seniors.

Eberly's Spring

Another kind of contribution was made a few days later. I was surprised to learn that fifteen students were in the hospital with bilharzia. Tai informed me that this was not unusual; fifteen was about average. He said they got bilharzia by drinking water from a snail-infested stream.

"Why not boil it like you do?" I asked.

"Totally impractical," he replied. It would have taken enormous quantities of their only fuel, wood, to boil that much water.

A day or two later Tai took me on a tour of the 300 acre compound. I noticed some water oozing out of a hillside and asked if that wouldn't be safer to drink.

"Not enough of it, it's just a trickle," he said.

I asked for a bucket and stopwatch. Tai indulged me and sent one of the students off to fetch them.

It was just a trickle, taking several minutes to fill a bucket, but a simple calculation showed there would be over 600 gallons per day, more than enough drinking water for 300 students.

In short order we took samples of the water to Ibadan for testing. It was approved for drinking purposes. Workmen built a cement block cistern big enough to hold a day's supply of water.

All was in place by the end of October. The students called it Eberly's Spring and that was the end of bilharzia at Molusi College.

While the water project was the most dramatic contribution, there were a number of others that could be made by almost any young American. When a friend from Watertown N.Y. asked what she might send as a wedding gift, I suggested an erector set.

This was part of my overall emphasis on practical application. There was a tendency among the students, perhaps stemming from their tradition of oral history, to memorize lessons and recite them on demand.

When the set arrived, I invited a small group of freshmen, twelve and thirteen years of age, to form a mechanical engineering society based on the erector set. I suggested they make the simple device on page 1 and by the end of the term, they might make everything in the book.

I went off to visit other society projects and returned at the end of the hour to see how they were doing.

They had done nothing.

One of the students, Tajudeen Amusa, held up a screw and nut and asked, "What do we do with these, sir?"

I showed them how to use the screwdriver and wondered if they would be able to make the simplest device without a lot of help.

Again I was wrong. They proceeded to make every-

thing in the book without the slightest bit of help from me. Well before the end of term, a new team of freshmen formed the mechanical engineering society. The last time I saw Amusa was in New York City in the mid-60s; he was a graduate student in physics at Columbia University.

Another successful project had to do with the velocity of sound. I noticed in physics class that students were able to solve problems involving the velocity of sound but it was clear from discussion that they had no concept of the principle because they could not see it.

Therefore I lined up about ten students at equal intervals over about 200 yards, told them to face away and raise their hands, then to drop them quickly when they heard the sound. Another student at their rear made a sharp sound and the hands fell in perfect succession. The students were awe-struck by this simple experiment.

There were failures as well. I thought it would be easier if the spring water could be pumped directly to the kitchen, rather than having the workmen carry about a hundred buckets of water up the slippery slope of a hill every day.

It was difficult to get the pipe for this project. The British had imposed tight restrictions on piping that could be used to make Dane guns, a crude gun used for hunting. I had looked into a hydram pump but the flow of water was insufficient to push the water up the hill.

Eventually, all was in order. The water was pumped by means of a hand pump up to a storage tub next to the kitchen.

After a few days, however, the workers were once again carrying the water up the hill in buckets. The problem was that they could socialize while carrying the water on their heads but not while pumping it. I soon gave up since the important thing was clean water, not the speed of its delivery.

There was also a health problem. Both Louise and I had three bouts with malaria, though luckily never at the same time. The alternating fever and chills that accompanied the disease gave us an empathy with the millions

of other people living in the tropics who suffered from malaria, but once would have been enough for that.

We had been taking anti-malarial pills prescribed by a specialist in tropical medicine in New York City. When we mentioned this to Peter Weiss on a visit to Molusi College he said he had heard that our prescription was based on the strain of malaria encountered by Americans in the Philippines during World War II. For West Africa, Weiss said, we should double the prescription. We did, and never had malaria again.

The reception I had as a teacher in Nigeria made my lack of education courses relatively unimportant. Stephen O. Awokoya, the Minister of Education for Western Nigeria and former principal of Molusi College, made a special trip to Ijebu-Igbo to speak at a town hall reception for me. The townspeople were always happy to see us when we drove through town or went shopping in the open market. We enjoyed an occasional visit with Oba Adeboye I, the Orimolusi or chief of Ijebu Igbo, who was always very hospitable and appreciative of what we were doing for his people.

The students were genuinely eager to learn. Their desire, however, was motivated primarily by the importance of obtaining a School Certificate, the passport to a white collar job and perhaps even to a university education. That motivation permitted me to teach without worrying about discipline or resorting to sophisticated techniques which I didn't know anyway. Occasionally I slipped in a relevant piece of information that was not in the curriculum.

At the end of two years, it was clear that I had contributed much more in civilian service than I had in two years of military service. While the contribution to humankind was obvious, the contribution to U.S. interests was significant because of the goodwill generated from my experience at Molusi College.

The Effort to Put a Concept on Paper

Thus, by 1955, I was satisfied that national service could work for the average American college graduate in a setting like Molusi College. I began to think about putting some thoughts down on paper. This was a

formidable task because, while I could record an event or an interview for a newspaper, I was not accustomed to putting ideas on paper and fleshing them out.

The opportunity arose in December of 1955 when several weeks aboard ship loomed ahead. Louise and I had started our four-month leave in September by completing a trip around the world. We visited FSSP'S and other friends in Rome, Cairo, Istanbul, Baghdad, New Delhi, Calcutta, Bangkok and Tokyo. We continued eastward across the Pacific and spent several weeks with family and friends in the U.S.A.

We had arranged to join friends from Ibadan Grammar School on a 12-passenger merchant vessel from Liverpool to Lagos. I planned to spend an hour or more each morning writing a paper on national service. The sailing was smoother than the writing, but at least I had made a beginning.

Things were different upon our return to Molusi College. Tai Solarin had resigned to found a school called Mayflower that he would build in his image.

We had known about that change; the tragic surprise was that the Orimolusi of Ijebu Igbo had been killed in a plane crash. He had been the driving force behind the establishment of Molusi College in 1949 and I had felt that, with Tai's departure, I could always take a major problem to the Orimolusi.

Tai's successor was also his opposite – formal and aloof. The school was in turmoil. Before long the students went on strike over the food.

The town was leaderless since the king-makers were having a protracted debate over who should succeed to the throne. Mr. Sammi, the best educated candidate, was from the same side of the royal family as the late Orimolusi and tradition called for alternating between sides. Mr. Sammi was eventually chosen.

I longed to get involved in the school dispute but decided against it since I was a guest in the country and because we were expecting a baby in January. I decided to look for a job in a city with a hospital.

We were in Ibadan on a school break in August. I called on the officer in charge of government secondary schools in the Region. Miss Awm, a British colonial officer, said I was not qualified to teach in them

since my bachelor's degree was from MIT; she only recognized American baccalaureate degrees from Harvard and Yale.

With thoughts of appealing to the minister in my mind, I visited that same day a friend from the physics department at University College, Ibadan, then the only university in Nigeria. I told him what had happened and he invited me to become a lecturer in physics at the university.

So we moved to Ibadan and felt quite elegant to have electricity and running water.

With the demands of work and, in January, of our daughter Julie, I made little progress on the national service proposal. Despite the relative luxury of the university campus, life was less enjoyable than it had been at Molusi College where the students had been at our doorstep from dawn to dusk with injuries, complaints, riddles, questions and homework assignments. It was a structured existence at Ibadan. I saw little of the students except during class time and office hours.

On to Istanbul

I applied for teaching jobs both in the U.S. and elsewhere and accepted one as a housemaster and science teacher at Robert Academy, six miles up the Bosphorus Strait from Istanbul. This was the high school affiliated with Robert College, an institution that had been founded in 1863 by Cyrus Hamlin, a relative of Abraham Lincoln's first vice president.

My toughest task there was to tell Aydin Menderes, one of the students in Anderson Hall and son of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, that his father had been in a plane crash and was probably dead. All I could remember was 1943 and Mr. Dorr, the farmer I worked for just outside Watertown N.Y., coming back from a neighbor's house where they had a phone to tell me that my father was very sick, that I should get in his truck and he would take me home. He knew my father was dead but this was his way of breaking the news to me. I gave the news of the crash to young Menderes and emphasized the possibility that he was still alive. As it turned out, the

Prime Minister survived the crash but was later executed by the government that overthrew him.

The most memorable part of our experience there was the million dollar view; most of the windows in our apartment overlooked the Bosphorus and we could see Asia and the Soviet ships sailing to and from their ports in the Black Sea. Julie's first word was actually a sentence: "I see a boat."

National Service for Peace

Perhaps inspired by the view of the Bosphorus, it was there that I felt I had finally written what I had wanted to write about national service. In a 5,000-word paper that I called National Service for Peace, I recommended that the United States demonstrate its commitment to peace by giving young men an equal choice between military and civilian service. I put it this way:

> *When the time comes for a young man to give two years of direct service to his country, it is suggested that he be allowed to choose between Military and National Service for Peace. If he selects one of the National Service programs and passes the screening tests of aptitude, education, experience, and willingness to make greater personal sacrifices than his army comrades; he will qualify for National Service for Peace. The number of national service participants should be determined by Congress. For the first year or two, the program would have to be limited to a few hundred men so as to permit some experimentation to determine the best methods of screening, discipline, placement, and so on.*

I went on to suggest a Women's Auxiliary Unit and then to describe the choice that might be faced by a mechanic about to be drafted in peacetime:

> *The man who chooses the navy maintenance crew can look forward to life on board ship, to interesting ports of call, to American food daily, to congenial companionship, and probably to an*

easily predictable and secure two years.

The man who volunteers for a technical assistance construction crew has little idea what to expect — except that he will likely have a tougher two years than his navy friend. He will likely find himself in the dry heat of the deserts of the Middle East or the sticky heat of the jungles of Asia, Africa, or South America. His home will probably be sanitary but not luxurious (with mosquito netting round his bed and every drop of drinking water boiled.) He will have to adjust his diet to certain local staples (and possibly discover the local rice and tea to be superior to that he had in America.) At first he will be unable to communicate with his co-workers (but in a few months he may find himself to be more proficient in the local language than his American supervisor.)

The expression "national service" came from two sources. My GI life insurance policy was titled National Service Life Insurance. And national service was used by the British to describe their military service during World War II. The two words seemed to capture what I was trying to express. By their association with the military, the words suggested an activity that might be as important as military service. I felt rather bold in adding the reference to "peace." By the mid-50s, the Soviet Union had gained a virtual monopoly on that word, to the extent that its advocacy by an American could invite accusations of being a Communist by Communist-haters like Senator Joseph McCarthy.

I sent the proposal to *The Christian Science Monitor*, which had printed articles by Louise and me on Nigeria. I suggested that it be printed in several installments because of its length. Evidently The Monitor did not believe it was worthy of that much space and asked me to condense it. I did that and it was printed as a letter to the editor on April 8, 1959. The letter follows:

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Your editorial on the draft in the Monitor of Feb. 21 and the letter entitled "A New Kind of Draft" in the Feb. 10 issue prompt me to send you my thoughts on the subject.

I believe America should actively support a National Service which employs the instruments of peace as an alternative to military service. It would demonstrate to the world that not all of our planning is dictated by the threat of war, for we would be training our most valuable investment for life in a world at peace.

National Service is not intended for everyone of draft age, at least not in the near future. America's need for a strong standing army is accepted. It is also accepted and strongly advocated that our young men should be of direct service to our country for a period of two years. However, this proposal does assume that a few of the thousands of young men who are drafted annually could be of greater service to America in constructive, peaceful pursuits.

It is proposed that National Service be established so as to parallel the present military draft in terms of duration of enlistment, pay scales, and, to a considerable degree, discipline. The program must be designed so as to obtain those young men whose participation would really mean a service to the nation.

Of the possible projects appropriate for the National Service program, certainly one of the first to be explored is the study of the less common foreign languages. The study of Russian reigns paramount in this respect today because of the contrast between the estimated 10,000,000 Russians studying English and the 10,000 Americans expected to enroll in Russian language courses during the 1958-59 school year.

There is no reason why college students who had studied Russian for three or more years could not enter National Service and go to work translating and cataloguing the hundreds of Russian

scientific journals now available.

The recent Middle East crisis has brought forth serious criticism of the American diplomatic corps in such countries as Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq. It is said they have failed to grasp the undercurrents of feelings in these countries because they move primarily in a small circle of Western educated local officials. Could it be that their lack of fluency prevented this circle from widening and thereby contributed to what Washington officially terms its "lack of information" on this vital area?

It is an easy matter to speculate on the importance of these and other languages; one can justifiably question what the impact will be if only a few hundred men are involved in the program.

National Service can be of unique value in underdeveloped counties when requested by the governments concerned. In any community, the exact nature of the program that might develop over a few years would depend on the skills of the National Service participant and the needs of the community.

It is easy to envisage a wide range of National Service programs within the United States. These could be of a permanent nature or could have a temporary or emergency status. National Service participants could assist already established groups, such as the Red Cross and the American Friends Service Committee, or they could form their own organizations.

Because of the multitude of technical problems that would have to be solved in the beginning of a National Service program, it could be little more than a pilot project for the first two or three years. But its very enactment by Congress should indicate to the world that we have not reached the point of no return in our armaments program; that it is indeed possible to transfer our investment in manpower from the machinery of war to that of peace. Moreover, since virtually no military career men would

participate in National Service, there would be no impairment of our defense structure.

Our desire for peace would be made manifest by enabling our young men to be peacemakers instead of soldiers. In this respect, the actions of National Service participants in underdeveloped areas would speak for themselves where a million words of propaganda might fail.

Istanbul, Turkey *Donald J. Eberly*

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Some Encouraging Words

I started sending copies of the proposal to friends and to dignitaries whom I thought might be interested in it. Ralph Bradley, a distant cousin from Boston, mimeographed additional copies and sent them out.

The general tenor of the replies was one of encouragement coupled with concern about avoiding the issue of draft-dodging. The reply from Paul Hoffman, former head of the Marshall Plan, was typical. He said in part:

While there is merit to the idea that there should be an alternative to military service for specially qualified young men, I don't believe that a program embracing this idea could be administered successfully. No matter how onerous the alternative assignments might be, those who accepted them would be accused of draft dodging. (Feb. 3, 1959)

The briefest response was from Eleanor Roosevelt: "I have read your proposal and I think your idea is a good one. However, I fear this administration [Eisenhower's] will not consider it." (Jan. 27, 1959) She made no mention of her espousal of a similar idea in the 1930s, a fact that I would not learn for several years. (See page 169.)

Harlan Cleveland, Dean of the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, was encouraging and told me about a related proposal:

> *Your plan makes a lot of sense and in good part because of your modest approach to its initiation. I'm glad that Chet Bowles has had a chance to see it. I wonder if you have also drawn it to the attention of Senator Humphrey. It occurs to me that it might well be related to his plan for a Youth Conservation Corps which is now, after a good many years of preparation, in legislative form.* (July 7, 1959)

The most hopeful reply came from a Republican member of Congress from Ohio, Frank T. Bow. He said:

> *I have read with interest your proposal for a National Service for Peace. I am going to try to work out an amendment to the Selective Service Act to establish such a plan at least on a pilot basis...* (Feb. 3, 1959)

A Harvard Student – And Teacher

That winter we decided to return to the States. Louise felt I needed another degree if I was going to get anywhere and I was getting a little excited about the prospects for national service.

I wrote to the Veterans Administration to learn if I was still eligible for the GI Bill. They sent a long reply that boiled down to "probably." The Harvard Graduate School of Education had accepted me and I enrolled in summer school upon arrival in hopes of beating the deadline for the GI Bill. Soon after enrolling, I learned that I was no longer eligible. That meant I would have to work during the school year and that, in turn, meant that I could not take the introductory course in astronomy that I had hoped to take.

When I applied for a job at the Harvard employment office, I was told to interview Prof. Cecilia Payne-Gaposchkin. She was looking for someone to be a teaching fellow in her course in introductory astronomy and

offered me the job. She wasn't worried that I had never had a course in astronomy; she felt my courses in spectrum analysis would be sufficient. I suspected that she was also having a hard time finding teaching fellows for the course. It turned out to be an enjoyable experience, and probably more educational than if I had taken the course as a student.

A course in statistics gave me a chance to gauge the reaction of young people to national service. One of our options as students was to devise a questionnaire, administer it to some people, and analyze the results. I surveyed 83 male high school and college students about their attitudes toward national service. I found that the conditions of service would go a long way in determining how many would choose non-military service:

> Only one in four would select the non-military option if it brought lower pay and were of longer duration than military service.
>
> At the other extreme, only one in six would choose military service if it paid less than non-military and the other conditions were equal.
>
> For both high school and college students, service in an emergency relief corps was the favored kind of non-military service.
>
> The preferred area of assignment for high school students was the USA and, for college students, Africa and Asia.

The survey was not sufficiently random nor on a large enough scale to permit making predictions from it, but it was suggestive of the interest of young men in national service and lent support to my belief that I was on the right track.

Meanwhile, I had heard in August, 1959, from Congressman Bow that he had not followed through on his national service amendment because the Armed Services

Committees had decided to make no changes in the Selective Service Act and to enact it as speedily as possible. I decided to spread the net more broadly in hopes of finding someone who would sponsor national service legislation. I sent the national service proposal to about fifty senators.

Only a few senators replied and of them, only two – Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Sen. Kenneth Keating – were genuinely responsive to the idea. Keating sent the proposal to the State Department for review. Humphrey wrote that he liked the idea but was busy at the time and would write me later about it. As months passed, I feared another false start.

I heard first from Keating. He sent me a copy of a six-page reply from Assistant Secretary of State William B. Macomber. Macomber suggested:

> ...that the types of overseas activities given in "National Service for Peace" be carried out by the private sector,
>
> ...that the current level of such private efforts was adequate, and
>
> ...that the living standards proposed for national service participants would "imperil their health and ruin their effectiveness as public servants." (Dec. 11, 1959)

[One year later, the State Department would have a sudden change of mind – see page 36.]

A Peace Corps

The reply from Humphrey was more encouraging. His letter (see page 34) set off a lively correspondence with his staff aide, Peter Grothe. I made a number of suggestions for getting the Peace Corps under way. I also let him know that I wasn't happy with "Corps" in the title because of its military connotation. (The title did lead to a little apprehension overseas. Most of it evaporated, however, when Peace Corps Volunteers started arriving a year later and their actions made

[illegible]
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
J. SCOTT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.
MIKE MANSFIELD, MONT.
[illegible]
[illegible] LONG, LA.
JOHN F. KENNEDY, MASS.
ALBERT GORE, TENN.
FRANK J. LAUSCHE, OHIO
FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO

[illegible]
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
GEORGE D. AIKEN, VT.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
FRANK CARLSON, KANS.
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF
DARRELL ST. CLAIRE, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

February 29, 1960

Mr. Donald J. Eberly
60 Crescent Street
Cambridge 39, Mass.

Dear Mr. Eberly:

This is in further response to your letter of last August 17th.

Since writing you on August 21, I have had the opportunity of studying your proposal for a National Service for Peace more thoroughly. I have also received letters suggesting similar proposals.

To put it to you squarely, I like your idea. I not only like it, but I have been advocating it in a number of speeches. I now want to get moving and see if we can translate it into public policy.

I would greatly appreciate it, Mr. Eberly, if you could send along any further thinking that you may have done on the subject. For example, how long do you think the orientation course should be? What should be included in that course? You see, before I tackle this project head-on, I want to have all of the implications and contingencies clearly in mind. What possible objections do you think might be raised to the plan, from either responsible or irresponsible groups? How would you answer those objections? I would like to have the benefit of your thinking on these various matters.

We have a good project. Let's hope we can do something on it. Please send your reply to Peter Grothe on my staff, who is doing the groundwork for me. Many thanks.

Please be assured of my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

HHH/c

clear to just about everyone around them that they were not a military force.)

The Humphrey connection also led to a memorable lesson in politics. It was in March or April of 1960. A new president was to be elected in November and Senators Humphrey and Kennedy were two of the main Democratic contenders.

I made an appointment to talk with Frank Keppel, Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, about national service. At one point in our conversation, I rather casually mentioned that Humphrey planned to introduce a national service bill with the title "Peace Corps."

Immediately, he telephoned the Kennedy office in Boston and passed on the information.

I felt a little ashamed, having decided to back Humphrey in good measure because of his support for national service. However, it turned out not to have been critical because national service was not an issue during the primary campaign.

Humphrey introduced his Peace Corps bill on June 15, 1960. That, together with a study by Colorado State University on a Point Four Youth Corps[1], led to a mild upsurge of interest in national service, particularly its international component. I gave some talks and participated in several meetings on the subject. I drew heavily on my Nigerian experiences to illustrate the work, attitudes and environment that Peace Corps workers might expect.

---

[1] The fourth point of President Truman's inaugural address in 1949 called for a major aid effort to the less developed areas of the world. This initiative was adopted, although never on so large a scale as the Marshall Plan. Over the years it has been known variously as the Point Four Program, the International Cooperation Administration and, since about 1961, the Agency for International Development. In 1960, Rep. Henry Reuss introduced a bill for a study of the Peace Corps idea. The bill's passage led to the award of a study contract to Colorado State University.

I was still at Harvard, having received my master's degree in education in June, 1960. I accepted a position as assistant director of the International Students Office. My boss was David Henry, whom I had met after I learned of his interest in starting a scholarship program for Nigerian students. He was director of admissions at the time, I was about to graduate, and when he invited me to lunch I guessed he was going to ask me to work on the scholarship program.

Instead, he said that he had just accepted the job as director of the International Students Office but really wanted to spend most of his time on the Nigerian scholarship program, so would I become the assistant foreign student adviser?

I accepted. He knew about my interest in national service and I said that only a major development in that area might cause me to leave the job prematurely.

National service became a major issue a few days before the election. At a campaign stop in Michigan in October, Kennedy said that he might propose a peace corps as an alternative to military service.

The response by students who heard him was so positive that he decided to make it the topic of a major speech. He did so, at the Cow Palace in San Francisco on November 2nd.

Vice President Richard Nixon, his Republican opponent, reacted immediately. Nixon seized on the draft alternative part of the proposal and denounced it with the epithet, "It will become a haven for draft dodgers."

Kennedy was elected President a few days later and the State Department – although still a part of the Eisenhower administration – abruptly changed its policy on overseas service. It reversed the view expressed by Macomber and decided that the idea of federally supported young Americans serving overseas was a good one. It hurriedly put together a program called Teachers for East Africa and launched it before Kennedy took office. By having this initiative in place, the State Department reckoned it had a good case for capturing the Peace Corps.

In the fall of 1960, I was giving talks on national service to small groups and working with several

students and faculty members interested in arranging overseas service assignments. Kennedy's Michigan speech had attracted little attention outside the immediate area but his Cow Palace speech was big news on campus. (See below.) (The *Crimson*'s reference to the CIA was a typographical error. It should have read "ICA," for International Cooperation Administration.)

I participated in several meetings on the Peace Corps. Occasionally I found myself in disagreement with professors and others who were steeped with theory but had little or no first hand knowledge of the places where Peace Corps Volunteers would serve.

By the end of the year, some kind of Peace Corps or national service seemed imminent. I began to wonder what role I might play in it. I wasn't keen on getting caught in a bureaucratic job but I did want to be involved in some way. Perhaps I would remain in the Harvard job and become an outside adviser. In any case, I was happy that I had included the national service caveat when I had accepted that job.

Crimson

NOV. 4, 1960 PRICE EIGHT CENTS

Eberly's Plan Shapes Peace Corps Proposals

Would Provide Substitute for Military Service

Senator Kennedy's proposal for a "Peace Corps" composed of young men who would otherwise participate in military service stems in part from a program framed by Donald J. Eberly, Assistant Director of the International Students Office.

This proposal, issued in San Francisco Tuesday night, bears a close resemblance to the United States Peace Corps Act introduced last year in Congress by Sen. Hubert Humphrey. A letter from Eberly, once a school teacher in Nigeria, had acquainted Humphrey with the idea.

In an attempt to develop a far-reaching people-to-people diplomatic program, the Bill would send a number of American young people to work directly with citizens of under-developed countries. If the Bill is passed, a maximum of 500 young people will be recruited during the program's first year. Under present plans, the Peace Corps would expand gradually, allowing no more than 5,000 during its fourth year.

To be selected, aspirants must be over 21½ years of age at their induction. They must also, according to the Bill, "be highly qualified in a particular skill. . . be willing to serve in relatively primitive areas. . . be essentially adaptable, physically fit, and emotionally and intellectually mature." A new Government agency will be created to administer the Corps, but will work intimately with the State Department, the USIS, and the CIA.

For several reasons the requirements of the Corps will discourage young people seeking to avoid military service, according to drafters of the Act: 1) the period of service is three years, a year longer than normal military service; 2) there are no veterans' compensations; 3) members will frequently have more arduous tasks than men in military service.

Monro Approves of Plan

Commenting on Kennedy's proposal, Dean Monro called the Peace Corps "a healthy notion," but expressed hope that some of its members would be used to "clean up backward areas in the United States."

This weekend, a group of college students—including some from the University—will meet at Princeton to discuss approaches to the "mobilization of youthful energies for humanitarian purposes," including the Humphrey Bill and Kennedy's proposal.

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1961–1967

The Peace Corps
Return to Nigeria
The First National Service Conference

This period began with high hopes, with the first president born in the 20th Century, and with economists worried about an imminent budget surplus. It ended with shattered hopes, a divided country, an assassinated president and budget deficits that, except for a small surplus in 1969, have continued to this day. Nothing better symbolized the hope of this period than the Peace Corps, born early in 1961. Few Americans were aware of it, but the Vietnam War that was to cause so much grief started about the same time. Young people took up causes, notably civil rights and the Peace Corps. But gains that were made in these endeavors and others – like the War on Poverty – were overshadowed by the undeclared war in Vietnam.

* * *

On January 20, 1961, I was in the International Students Office collecting some papers for a trip. David Henry had decided I should visit some of the more notable foreign student programs to see if I could come up with any good ideas for Harvard's. While there, I listened to John F. Kennedy give his inaugural address and when he said, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country," I felt he was endorsing national service. He did not mention a peace corps in his speech but there were clear indications that he was moving forward on it.

One of my stops was in Washington, D.C. to visit the foreign student operation at Howard University. I made an appointment to visit Sen. Humphrey and found him very solemn, in contrast to the ebullient personality I had seen on television. He was generally pleased with the emerging Peace Corps, but he expressed disappointment over Kennedy's decision to drop Peace Corps service as an alternative to military service.

On the same trip I visited Harris Wofford, who had helped to found IDPA and had been active in the Kennedy campaign. He asked me to join him for dinner with Sargent Shriver, who was expected to become the first Peace Corps director, and others to talk about teaching in Nigeria. Wofford introduced me to Shriver as "the first Peace Corps Volunteer," but Shriver was not much interested in my overseas experiences.

He had two major concerns that evening. First, he wanted to keep the Agency for International Development (AID) from getting control of the Peace Corps. Second, he wanted, a little ironically, to get James Grant, an AID employee, as his deputy. Most of the discussion centered on these two topics, and was among Shriver, Louis Martin and Richard Neustadt, two political experts.

Shriver did succeed, with particular help from Vice President Lyndon Johnson, in keeping the Peace Corps an essentially independent agency, but he lost out on Jim Grant, who some years later became the head of UNICEF.

In spite of losing the Peace Corps, the State Department persisted with Teachers for East Africa which, although small and lasting only a few years, was a high quality program.

President Kennedy created the Peace Corps by Executive Order on March 1, 1961.

That turned out to be only the first of several trips to Washington in 1961. There was a Peace Corps Conference at American University in March, where Humphrey gave a rousing speech. There was a trip to be sworn in as a member of the Peace Corps recruiting team. Almost every weekend that spring, I went on recruiting missions to such places as Bucknell College, Mt. Holyoke College and the University of Maine. They sent me to address a meeting of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Wisconsin. Everywhere the Peace Corps message was well received. When I finished my pitch to the ILGWU and asked how many would like to join the Peace Corps, about 80% raised their hands.

Sometime that spring, possibly at the conference at American University, I put on hold the idea of national service or the Peace Corps as a draft alternative.

Following his election, Kennedy had asked MIT political scientist Max Millikan to study the Peace Corps idea and make recommendations about it. Millikan was generally positive but advised against any connection with the draft because the draft was such a hot issue at the time. Of course, it was ice cold compared to what it would become a few years later, but Millikan feared that the Peace Corps might be doomed if Nixon's characterization of it were to take hold.

Also, Wofford and others said it would be difficult enough to get Congress to vote for the Peace Corps and they didn't want to complicate matters by linking it to the draft.

At first I was rather reluctant to accept this position. In the absence of war and with a new administration, perhaps this would be the best time in many years to push for a national service that would embrace civilian as well as military options. Given the events that were about to transpire, there was little I could have done to forward my views.

Nigeria Beckons Again

It was July of 1961. I was vacationing with my family in a train in Maine (actually, a railroad car on a siding that had been converted into nicely furnished, if elongated, living quarters) when a neighbor came to say I had a long distance phone call.

It was from Alan Pifer, about to become the head of the Carnegie Corporation of New York – would I like to be interviewed for the position of undersecretary in the Federal Ministry of Education in Nigeria?

I was puzzled, as I knew nothing about the position, but agreed to the interview.

It turned out that Stephen Awokoya, who had welcomed me so warmly to Ijebu-Igbo, had been at Harvard talking with David Henry about their joint enterprise, the Nigerian-American Scholarship Program, later to become the African Scholarship Program of American

Universities. Mr. Awokoya had become Nigeria's Chief Federal Adviser on Education.

He told Henry that he was interviewing candidates for a position whose responsibilities would be to advance education in Nigeria through overseas assistance in such forms as teachers, scholarships, money and materials. He had just interviewed a good candidate in California but the offering salary of 3,000 Nigerian pounds was too low for the candidate.

Mr. Awokoya said he had raised the salary to 4,000 pounds (the equivalent then of $11,200) and, when Henry asked what kind of person he was looking for, replied, "Someone like Don Eberly."

At the interview, Pifer said that my toughest job would be to sort out offers of aid from various countries and UN agencies in a way that made sense for education in Nigeria.

Wofford had said earlier that I could have a job at the Peace Corps if I wanted one but I did not seize the opportunity because I did not want to get stuck in a low level in the bureaucracy where I would be unable to speak my mind freely.

With the Nigerian job, I would be able to observe the Peace Corps and similar programs at first hand. In addition, it carried a 40% rise in salary.

By September 1961, our family was once again in Nigeria, this time living in Lagos, the capitol of the country that had achieved independence just one year earlier.

The Michelmore Brouhaha

Within a month of my arrival, I was on the edge of probably the biggest brouhaha in Peace Corps history. Marjorie Michelmore, a Peace Corps Volunteer who had recently arrived at University College, Ibadan, for training, sent a postal card in which she referred to the Nigerian custom of "going to the bathroom" in the streets.

Somehow the card made its way to the papers and it was a front page story for several days, in large measure because Nigerians were not in the habit of taking baths in the streets (which is how they inter-

preted her phrase). However, they did urinate in the streets (which is how she defined the phrase.)

There were demands that the Peace Corps leave the country.

In the midst of all this, I went to the U.S. Embassy to visit Miss Michelmore. I had known her slightly at Harvard, where she had her stateside training for the Peace Corps. I didn't know whether I would be able to smooth the waters, but at least I wanted to hear her side of the story (e.g., did she actually put the card in a mail box?)

I was rebuffed. The senior political officer, whom I had met once or twice, said that I would not be allowed to visit her. This action astonished me as I had pictured my work as a cooperative endeavor, not a confrontational one.

Within a few days, Ms. Michelmore was sent home and the rest of the Volunteers continued their training.

Perhaps because of my rebuff at the Embassy, I found myself playing politics with my fellow Americans a few months later. It was nearly time for Peace Corps Director Shriver to make his first annual report to Congress. He wanted to be able to say that every country with Volunteers had requested more of them for 1962.

I told Brent Ashabrenner, the Peace Corps director in Nigeria, that we were surveying the Regions (at the time there were three, the North, the East and the West, although the Mid-West would soon make a fourth) to determine what our response would be.

Ashabrenner and other American officials seemed to interpret the delay as a signal that we might make no request at all.

I neither reinforced nor disabused them of this notion.

As the date for Shriver's report drew near and every Peace Corps country but Nigeria had requested more Volunteers, the tension heightened.

At about this time the survey results were in. They showed a strong demand for math and science teachers, which were in short supply with the Peace Corps; but very few requirements for political and social scientists, of which the Peace Corps had a

surplus.

I was there to get the best deal I could for Nigeria. I told Brent that if the Peace Corps could not meet our requests, I would have to survey the Regions again to obtain a revised request. As this would have meant a delay beyond Shriver's deadline, our request was accepted. Nigeria got more science and math teachers as a result of the Michelmore incident.

Nigeria Not a Natural Country

Unlike Alan Pifer's prediction, the big task of our external aid group was not so much to sort things out among the overseas donors as it was to sort things out within Nigeria.

Nigeria was not a natural country. It had been created by the European colonial powers at a meeting in Berlin in 1885. They put a map of Africa on the table, noted the coastal European settlements, and generally drew lines on a map running perpendicular to the coastline. In so doing, they split up the Yorubas between Nigeria and Benin and joined the eastern Yorubas with Ibos and Hausas to form Nigeria.

Our external aid group reported several times a year to a Coordinating Committee. It was made up of, among others, the Federal Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Economic Development and Education; and the Regional Ministers of Education. The major issue at every meeting was which Region would get how many teachers or scholarships or other forms of external aid.

The North based its case on the fact that it was the most populous and the least educated, and therefore deserved the lion's share. The West and East contended that since they had more schools and teachers with better qualifications than the North, they were better able to absorb teachers, and therefore they should get most of them.

After lengthy but polite discussions we finally came up with a formula: each Region would receive the same number of teachers or scholarships or other forms of aid that were divisible in this way.

Every Peace Corps Volunteer has a story like mine

about Eberly's Spring. One day I dropped in on Dr. Richard Smith, a good friend and the Peace Corps doctor for Nigeria. On the floor was a Volunteer. He had been bitten in the leg by what he said was a green mamba snake five minutes before class. The Volunteer got out his snake-bite kit and, always the good teacher, hopped on his bicycle and pedaled one-legged to biology class. There he demonstrated the treatment for snake bite. Dr. Smith let him know how foolish he had been to delay treatment and to ride his bike. Happily, he survived. I tell this story a lot because it seems to me to symbolize the dedication of the typical Peace Corps Volunteer.

Back to the USA

By the end of my three-year contract in 1964, I knew that, having spent nine out of the last eleven years overseas, I wanted to work in the United States and I wanted to pursue national service in some way. I received three firm job offers, one from the Peace Corps in Washington, one from the Institute of International Education (IIE) and one from the Overseas Educational Service branch of Education and World Affairs (EWA), both in New York City.

My first choice was the Peace Corps, since I saw that as the leading edge of national service. However, the deputy director could give me no assurance that I would not be posted overseas for a couple of years. So I turned down the Peace Corps and chose EWA over IIE because it was a new entity whereas IIE had existed for several decades and I perceived it as rather bureaucratic.

One of my first assignments at EWA was to visit Liberia and return with a set of recommendations for future American aid to education in Liberia. I was actually substituting for another EWA employee who could not get a security clearance (needed because the job was being done under contract to AID) because of some organization he had once belonged to.

My recommendations centered on improving the quality of staff and the facilities at the University of Liberia and shifting the emphasis on overseas study

from undergraduates to postgraduates.

The EWA study leader relayed these recommendations to AID. They were returned with a substitute set that AID wanted. I was asked to weave the AID recommendations into my report. I refused, saying that they didn't follow from the observations that my colleague, James Sheffield, and I had made in Liberia.

AID succeeded in getting the report to read the way it wanted it to and in leaving a sour taste in the mouth of someone who had once lobbied for its support.

The Draft Issue

Meanwhile, the United States was escalating its involvement in the unpopular war in Vietnam. Draft inequities were becoming an issue. The government had never decided what the draft status of Peace Corps Volunteers should be and the 4,000 draft boards were left to set their own policies. Some drafted Volunteers while they were still serving overseas. Others waited until they completed Peace Corps service and then drafted them. Still others viewed Volunteers as having completed their service to the nation and never drafted them. College students were deferred and many young men stayed in college or went to graduate school to avoid the draft. Military reserve units were in little danger of being called to active duty and became a preferred way for professional athletes and other young men with connections to avoid being sent to Vietnam. Thousands of young men escaped the draft by fleeing to Canada and other countries when they felt the hot breath of the draft board on their necks. These manifestations of an inequitable draft were just beginning to surface in 1965; the problem was to become greatly exacerbated during the next few years.

It was in this setting that a big break for national service arrived when President Johnson declared an International Cooperation Year and invited proposals to be considered by a conference. I submitted my national service proposal and was invited to the conference in December 1965.

Not finding any reference to national service on the agenda, I went to my friend, Rev. James Robinson,

founder and director of Operation Crossroads-Africa, who was on a panel. I asked if he would request the chairman to recognize me after the panel members had made their presentations.

He did. I spoke for about five minutes.

When the panel adjourned, about two dozen people clustered around to talk about national service. One was Congressman Don Fraser, whom I had not met before. Everyone wanted to know what I was going to do about national service. I was thrilled just to have this show of interest.

Gradually the circle widened. When my secretary, Kathy Cullinan, learned of my interest in national service, she said that her brother Terry, a lieutenant in the Army, had the same idea. Chaplain William S. Coffin, Jr., of Yale and Dean John U. Monro of Harvard recalled our discussions of national service six years earlier and said they were still interested in it.

On a visit to Washington, D.C., I visited the Archives in an attempt to trace the names of members of Camp William James in Vermont. This had been a short-lived attempt by Harvard and Dartmouth students in 1940 to test national service by enrolling in the Civilian Conservation Corps. They did so, with the help of Eleanor Roosevelt. (For a brief account, see *A Profile of National Service*; for a full account, see *Camp William James*.) I copied a number of names from the records in the Archives and traced several of them through the alumni offices.

The First National Service Conference

These people and others I talked with agreed that the most sensible next step was a conference. Through EWA connections, I was able to use a room at the Princeton Club in New York City. I tried to raise money for travel and other expenses but, since it was not a current issue, no money was forthcoming.

Then a few days before the conference Tom Ford, a former EWA colleague, telephoned. A few weeks earlier he had started work at the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. He called to say that, at his first staff meeting, President Everett Case had asked if anyone was doing any-

thing about national service. Ford responded that I was. His call was to invite me to lunch with Case.

I had not tried the Sloan Foundation since their area of interest was mostly science and engineering. By the end of the lunch, I had a promise of $5,000 to publish a report on the conference.

A day or two before the conference, I called Steve Roberts, a reporter for *The New York Times* who had been with the *Crimson* when I was at Harvard, to invite him to the conference for background as I did not expect anything newsworthy to come out of the conference itself.

The conference was set for Saturday, May 7, 1966. Thirty of the 32 people I had invited showed up, all paying their own way. Rev. Roy Chamberlin, one of the Camp William James' participants and the minister of a church in Gorham, Maine, received a special collection enabling him to attend after telling his congregation about the meeting. Robert Terry of the Experiment in International Living left his honeymoon a day early to be there.

Someone I did not know came in late. It turned out to be Henry Raymont, a *New York Times* reporter who had seen a note Steve Roberts had left, suggesting that if nothing else was happening, someone might look in on the conference. That evening I looked at the first edition of the Sunday *Times* and there we were on the front page. Then there was a big fire and the story was moved inside. (See page 49.)

There was general agreement at the conference:

- that national service would provide additional manpower to volunteer groups,
- that it should develop gradually,
- that it be decentralized,
- that it not be a program of direct political action, and
- that it was not intended as a draft-dodging mechanism.

EDUCATORS URGE OPTIONS TO DRAFT

Peace Corps Service Asked as Military Alternative

By HENRY RAYMONT

Leading educators and manpower experts advocated yesterday that students and other youths be given the option of service in the antipoverty program or in the Peace Corps as an alternative to being drafted into the armed forces.

The early inclusion in the draft law of this option, which has been under previous consideration, was favored in discussions at the first National Service Conference here yesterday.

Donald J. Eberly, chairman of the meeting, said the conference would begin a comprehensive review of the military draft, including the possibility of establishing a compulsory national service.

The study, he said, can be expected to suggest a radical revision of the draft law, stressing that youths should be allowed to serve in nonmilitary programs as an alternative to military service.

Some 30 representatives of universities, student organizations, government agencies and private foundations participated in the meeting, which was organized by Mr. Eberly, executive associate of the Overseas Educational Service.

The participants included John Monro, dean of Harvard College; Glenn Olds, dean of international studies of the State University of New York; the Rev. William S. Coffin, chaplain at Yale University and civil rights leader; Harris Wofford, associate director of the Peace Corps, and Robert Edwards, program assistant of the Ford Foundation; Leon Bramson, chairman of the sociology department, Swarthmore College, and Philip Sherburne, president, the National Student Association.

The meeting was partly an outgrowth of the White House conference on International Cooperation held last December at which Mr. Eberly first submitted a national service program providing for the draft option.

The delegates yesterday seemed overwhelmingly to endorse the idea that the Peace Corps and antipoverty program were the types of service that should be considered as alternatives to military draft. But they showed less agreement on the practicability of establishing a broader national service corps.

This feeling was reflected in the discussion to set guidelines for the group's study. The discussion emphasized a desire to concentrate on providing military draft exemptions in time for Congressional hearings on the draft law before it expires next year.

The chance for positive action, the group agreed, is provided by two immediate factors. One is that nonmilitary services would provide an alternative to youths who object to joining the armed forces for reasons of conscience or religion. The other is the growing need for manpower as the Administration increases the scope of its social programs to combat poverty, illiteracy and disease.

The day-long meeting was held at the Princeton Club, 15 West 43d Street.

The decision for a study on proposals to change the draft law was endorsed informally during the final session. There was no vote, but several participants urged the action to lay the basis for a broad national debate on the draft act.

The idea of exempting Peace Corps volunteers from military service was originated by President Kennedy when he proposed

formation of the corps in his final campaign speech on Nov. 3, 1960.

With the increasing military manpower needs caused by the Vietnam war, however, this suggestion has not been put into practice. It was disclosed during yesterday's discussions that out of 5,000 volunteers who returned from overseas, 80 have been drafted.

While they have not taken any public position, some high Peace Corps officials are known to favor a return to the principle of making service in the organization — possibly with more rigorous standards and an extended tour of duty—an alternative to the draft.

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The conference is written up in *A Profile of National Service* (1966).

Conference Repercussions

The next week was a busy one. Roger Little, a professor at West Point, called to say he was a member of a group called the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society that was developing a position paper in favor of national service. Margaret Mead called to talk about women in national service. When someone from *The New York Times* Sunday Magazine called to ask me to write an article on national service, I chuckled to myself because they had rejected a piece I had sent them several years earlier. There was no time for it now so I referred them to Marion Sanders, a writer who had attended the National Service Conference and whose article appeared in the *Times* of August 7, 1966. Adam Walinsky of Senator Robert Kennedy's office called to ask how national service would operate. All this time I was trying to do my work at EWA.

Soon others were talking about national service. *The New York Times* editorialized:

Nationally sound reform lies in the direction of universal national service, with limited options to serve either in the armed forces, the Peace Corps, the National Teacher Corps or a variety of domestic urban and rural missions. Leading educators have already endorsed such a plan. It is now up to the nation's educational, manpower and military leadership to evolve a blueprint for national debate and Congressional action. (May 14, 1966)

On May 18, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara gave a major speech on overseas development. He tacked on to the end of it a brief comment on national service:

It seems to me that we could move toward remedying [the draft] inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country — whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer development work at home or abroad... It would make meaningful the central concept of security; a world of decency and development — where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.

Newspapers gave top billing to McNamara's national service remarks.

Reporters asked President Johnson where he stood on national service. Johnson came down squarely on both sides of the fence: yes, he liked the idea of national service but no, McNamara's speech was not a trial balloon.

National service was the theme of baccalaureate addresses by the presidents of Harvard and Yale. Harvard's Nathan Pusey was negative, fearing voluntary service would become adulterated if associated with the draft. Yale's Kingman Brewster was emphatically in favor of national service.

In early July President Johnson appointed a twenty-member group to make recommendations for improving Selective Service and to study national service. Called

the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, it was chaired by Burke Marshall and included Kingman Brewster as a member.

Later that month, Marshall asked me to prepare a national service plan for consideration by the Commission. It was due in November.

This was a major challenge. My efforts to date had been devoted to a personal test of the idea, an opinion survey, a little research, and promotional activities. As *The New York Times* had editorialized, I had expected the blueprints to be drawn by the nation's educational, manpower, and military experts. I hadn't given much thought to the details. Also, I was still working full-time for EWA. Where would I find the time to devise a plan?

The National Service Secretariat Is Born

Rather quickly several foundations came to the rescue with grants to support my research. EWA agreed to receive the grants, to give me leave and to permit me to work out of my office – until December 31, 1966. I would have to decide by then whether to return to work for EWA or cut my ties with them. I agreed not to identify EWA with national service and adopted the name National Service Secretariat[1] as the organization under which my activities were carried out.

The first *National Service Newsletter* was issued in August 1966 and became a monthly publication.

It soon became clear that our work would continue beyond the end of the year. I made several inquiries of universities and non-profit organizations to see if there was any interest in taking us into their fold. There was a little interest but no guarantees. I didn't want

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[1] Secretariat was a name little known in the United States until 1973 when a horse by that name won the Kentucky Derby. I chose it because I thought it was appropriate and because that was the name of the building in which I worked on my return to Nigeria in 1961. It was the building from which the British ruled Nigeria in colonial days.

to be out in the cold on January 1, so I borrowed the EWA constitution and by-laws, made a few changes, recruited five trustees, and submitted it to the proper authorities. We were soon incorporated in the State of New York.

The trustees were:

- Leon Bramson, a former Harvard professor who had been active in youth service activities while I was at Harvard,

- Kathleen Cullinan, my secretary who struck me as being very sensible,

- Earl Eames, my MIT friend who had become an international management consultant,

- John S. Stillman, a lawyer and chairman of the American Veterans Committee,

- and myself.

It proved a durable group. Bramson resigned in 1974 to protest my offer to President Gerald Ford to help design a civilian service program for the draft-resisters, to whom he had given amnesty conditional on the performance of such service. Bramson was replaced in 1975 with Terrence Cullinan of the Stanford Research Institute and Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. This group of six remained intact until Michael Sherraden was added to it in 1986 and Terry Cullinan died in 1987. In 1988, we were joined by Franciena Fowler-Turner, a specialist in voluntary youth service; James Kielsmeier, head of the National Youth Leadership Council and sparkplug behind the Minnesota Youth Service Corps; and Charles C. Moskos, a professor at Northwestern University and expert in relationships between the military and civilian societies.

Where President Johnson had been ambiguous about national service in May, he seemed to be supporting it in September. In a speech in Dayton, Ohio, he said:

We must move toward a standard that no man has truly lived who only served himself.... I am asking a group of Governors and Mayors to meet and study ways in which city, State, and Federal governments can cooperate in developing a manpower service program that could work at every level of our society....[1]

The Option Plan

The core of the plan that I would submit to the Marshall Commission were my beliefs:

- that some young men could make greater contributions in civilian service than in military service, and

- that either form of service would be enhanced if it were the young men who made that decision.

I called this the Option Plan and worked out a system in which seventeen year olds would be informed of their options and have a year in which to choose both the type of service and the age at which they would enter:

- Those who served would go to the end of the draft queue.

- Those who made no choice would be liable for the military draft for the next six years.

- Those who wanted to perform alternative service as Conscientious Objectors would be able to do so.

In October I polled Newsletter readers on the degree of voluntarism that should be incorporated into a national service program:

- They were evenly split on compulsory service.

- They favored the Option Plan by five to one.

- They opposed a system of no deferment for non-military service by 68 to one.

Other parts of the plan did not come as easily. For example, I couldn't figure out where to put it. I didn't want it operating out of the Defense Department or Selective Service, both because I thought they were not well equipped to administer a civilian program and because I thought civilian service would be in jeopardy if the draft ended.

"Where to put it?" I asked everybody I talked with about national service for several weeks.

The president of Radcliffe, Mary Bunting, had the answer. She said I needed a government corporation – a new agency that would receive federal money but be fairly immune to political machinations.

I saw right away that this was the way to go and gave it the name, National Foundation for Volunteer Service.

"Volunteer" was put in the title to emphasize that civilian service would be open only to those who volunteered for it. The armed forces would accept volunteers and, if needed, draftees as well. Some said this was a form of coercion, since some eighteen year olds would choose a form of service rather than make no choice, just to avoid the uncertainty of the next six years. From a purist's point of view they were right. However, the world was far from pure and I felt justified in the proposal since it was an improvement over the existing system.

The plan called for a gradual build-up of persons in civilian national service, rising from 30,000 at the end of the first year to 100,000 at the end of the second year, 300,000 at the end of the third year, and leveling off at about one million in ten years. The annual cost of a person in civilian national service was estimated to be $4,000 (1966 dollars).

For those leaving civilian national service, the plan recommended that Congress seriously consider awarding educational benefits along the lines of the GI Bill that was then open only to those in military service. Also, the National Foundation would provide information to departing servicemen on further education and career

opportunities.

The eighty page plan was completed on time and sent to the Commission. In mid-November I presented it, complete with charts and graphs.

Response to the Plan

Rev. John Courtney Murray was the first to respond. He recommended that the Commission adopt my plan by acclamation. Prof. Jeanne Nobel was also positive.

Kingman Brewster surprised me by equivocating. He leaned back in his chair and said he didn't know whether this was the best way to do national service.

There was more discussion and although it did not lead to an approval of national service by acclamation, I left feeling quite positive about the ultimate outcome.

I was surprised that Commission members neither verified nor challenged my findings, as a group of scientists would have done if I were presenting something new to them. For example, I estimated that ten percent of young men would fail to qualify for civilian service, in contrast to the 35% that were then failing to qualify for military service. This was based on papers on national service and on the military disqualification rate that I sent to my physician relatives – Robert L. Eberly and David M. Essom – with a request that they estimate the rate for civilian service. Each approached it somewhat differently and each concluded that the rate would be close to ten percent. It was a critical figure because each percentage point meant about 40,000 men and $160 million, but I was never asked to defend my estimate.

At that time, I thought the government would take steps toward national service and that I would soon be working for the government. I sensed a need for a private sector body to monitor national service policies and proceeded to form the National Service Advisory Board. They were people who had been involved in youth issues in a variety of ways and who saw the promise of national service, although they were not of one mind on the form it should take. Should the government reject national service, I figured the Board would continue to promote it and help keep the idea on the

right track.

A Fateful Decision

Sometime in December, my almost daily calls from Neil Boyer, a Commission staff member, stopped. I called him to ask what was going on and he was vague. Later I learned with virtual certainty that that was the time President Johnson concluded that the United States could no longer afford the war in Vietnam as well as a large War on Poverty; he decided to pursue the former at the expense of the latter and passed the word to Marshall not to come out for national service.

The Commission's report appeared in March of 1967. Only three pages of the 219-page report were devoted to national service. The rest of it was about Selective Service. The report recommended several changes in Selective Service but said of national service that it needed more research combined with "public and private experimentation with pilot programs."[2]

The Secretariat had organized the second National Service Conference for April 1967, with the expectation that it would become the launching pad for national service. The Conference had a $30,000 budget and well-known speakers, but attracted much less attention than the 1966 conference. Interest waned when it became clear that the Johnson Administration was not going to support national service.

Still, there were plenty of things to do.[3] We wrote a full report on the conference and, as had been agreed with the Russell Sage Foundation, submitted it to them for publication. There had not been any votes at the conference but there had been a general consensus on two points; namely:

- that national service pilot projects be conducted, and

- that a directory of existing outlets for youth service be published.

As I pursued these objectives, there were also a number of opportunities to get out the national service

message, to learn more about its several dimensions, and to engage interested persons in debate and discussion.

One of the first challenges came from a surprising source, *The Christian Century*. My father had subscribed to this magazine as a Methodist minister and I did not expect it would do anything but applaud a proposal that derived from what I considered a fairly Christian thought process and which seemed to me to embody some of the more notable Christian precepts.

The author of the article was Prof. John M. Swomley of St. Paul School of Theology. He was as unaware of my background as he was aware of the history of the draft. He had been an organizer of the campaign against Universal Military Training following World War II. He apparently saw my efforts as an attempt to solidify the place of conscription in American society. He was also concerned that national service might supplant the church as the primary channel for the idealism of young people. His article appeared in the issue of January 11, 1967.

My reply, which was printed on April 5, 1967, begins on page 59.

Religious leaders could be found on both sides of the national service issue. Rev. William S. Coffin and Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh both signed on as charter members of the Secretariat's National Service Advisory Board. Pope Paul included this statement in his Fifth Encyclical of March 28, 1967:

> *We are pleased to learn that in certain nations military service can be partially accomplished by doing social service, a "service pure and simple." We bless these undertakings and the goodwill which inspires them.*[4]

Shifting Gears

As the debate proceeded, financial support for the Secretariat was drying up as rapidly as it had appeared. The foundations had locked their cash registers when it became evident the government was not going to pursue national service. I was surprised because I thought we

National Service: Purpose and Potential

Counterarguments to the Article by John M. Swomley, Jr.

✦ SINCE John M. Swomley's article on national service (Jan. 11) specifically refers to me and to "A Profile of National Service," which I edited, I am grateful for this opportunity to respond.

It should be emphasized at the outset that national service is neither a new concept nor primarily an answer to present inequities in the military draft. National service derives from William James's "The Moral Equivalent of War" (1910), Pierre Ceresole's "Service Civile Internationale" (ca. 1920), the Civilian Conservation Corps (1930s), the G.I. Bill (1940s) and the Peace Corps and antipoverty programs (1960s). National service relates to an expression of youthful energies and a desire for adventure, service, employment, education and peace.

A program of national service would be a realization of a mutual responsibility of youth and society – on the part of youth to serve the society which has nurtured and educated them, and on the part of society to give young people a wide range of opportunities to gain experience in the world which will soon be theirs. Thus a program of national service is needed whether a military draft exists or not.

So long as the draft does operate, we are faced with the question of how to treat persons serving in nonmilitary capacities. For example, should draft-eligible young men in the Peace Corps be deferred, as Pres. Kennedy suggested? Or should they be called for induction, as occurred in a few cases in 1966? Should young men not presently qualified for military service be made to serve in the armed forces as the price of further education, as is the case in Project 100,000, or should this period of upgrading count as fulfillment of the service obligation?

I

Last year the National Service Secretariat developed a national service model for the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. This model is now serving as a reference point for further research. Basically, it calls for a large-scale program of voluntary national service. It is suggested that the federal government fund a national foundation to provide subsistence allowances for persons in national service and to provide for the training of participants in service activities. When the military draft is in effect, registrants would be able to opt for a period of nonmilitary service. Those doing so would not be exempt from military service but would be placed toward the end of the order of call.

Space permits only brief replies to Swomley's other objections. He says that the national service proposal implies that national service is more valuable than international or nonnational service. This is a misinterpretation of the service examples which Swomley himself cites from our publication, namely, U.N. agencies and the American Friends Service Committee. Identification of such service as "national" reflects the belief that support of nonmilitary service activities is in the national interest. "Service" is the key and its nature would be defined by its functions, which would include international (UNESCO), national (Peace Corps, VISTA), state (conservation units), local (hospitals, schools) and individual (independently initiated service projects) activities. The concept refers to a personal contribution to society, be that a state or a world community.

Swomley says that national service inevitably involves compulsion, that if the suggested national service plan were

put into effect during a period of military conscription, there would be added pressure on young men to choose between military and nonmilitary service. But it must of course be recognized that youth live in a world of pressures: for example, societal pressures to wear certain kinds of clothes, family pressures to attend college.

Swomley's assertion that service would be permitted only "in the manner prescribed by the government" is misleading. The kind of national service program suggested would simply make it possible for a much larger number of young people to serve humanity in a way hitherto denied them because the necessary resources have not been available, and because they themselves have not received sufficient education and skills from society.

There would of course be basic criteria for what constitutes service. For example, the requirement for work performed by conscientious objectors is that it contributes to the national health, safety or interest. Under this statute a conscientious objector recently performed his alternative service with the Friends Committee on National Legislation, a group that would like to eliminate conscription.

Swomley also raises the question of finances. We estimate annual expenditure at $5,000 per man year, so that a significant program would cost billions of dollars per year. But this sum must be set against the cost to society of higher crime rates and of the welfare payments that will be required if a national service program is not put into effect. It also has to be set against the higher lifetime earnings that would accrue to persons who had undertaken a period of national service. There certainly would be questions of the relationship between church and state, but they are not necessarily insurmountable; such questions have been resolved quite satisfactorily overseas by the Peace Corps in providing, for example, teachers for parochial schools so long as they do not teach religious subjects.

II

To lament that national service might provide a major outlet for the interests of youths who would otherwise join church-related activities appears to me to repudiate the basic church philosophy of service—a philosophy which, I am strongly convinced, has played a major role in motivating many young men to enter the Peace Corps and nonmilitary programs and in developing the desire to build rather than burn. If this attitude of service is right and good, as is suggested by the social gospel of the church-family complex, surely the very institutions which have been created at least in part to serve mankind should not stand in the way of expanding the opportunities for fulfilling their own teachings.

Finally, Swomley's assertion that elimination of draft inequities is the major justification for national service is a misunderstanding of the underlying spirit and objectives of the concept. The draft controversy is merely the crisis of the moment and as such has focused attention on the potential of national service as an alternative manpower and service policy. Thirty years ago a situation of large-scale unemployment among youth necessitated new approaches to the needs of that age group and of the society as a whole. In another decade or two other problems will likely have come to the foreground.

Attention and concern may have been stimulated by the draft debate, but the more critical social issues to which national service responds are the increasing alienation of today's youth and the need for more and better education, hospital and overseas assistance programs, all of which can be greatly benefited through expanded service opportunities for young people. This positive value can be demonstrated only by initiating pilot projects in the variety of service areas which might be included in a large-scale program of voluntary national service. If the worthiness of the concept is thereby substantiated, state and local groups would be likely to

respond with projects of their own design and of benefit to their immediate community.

The potential of national service as a response to existing social, manpower and educational needs must not be minimized by confining discussion of the concept to its relationship to the draft. Conceivably a long-range effect of national service could be the emergence of an all-volunteer army. But more importantly, the establishment of a national service program could enable youths from diverse backgrounds to contribute voluntarily a period of their life in service to humanity – whether in the local, national or international community.

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THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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were making headway in demonstrating that national service was more than just a draft issue. I realized that I had made a mistake in not seeking long-term grants for the Secretariat in the previous year.

I was especially sad to see the break-up of our cheerful and efficient crew at the Secretariat. Kathleen Cullinan, Carole Bell and Lois Luchessa had performed superbly and had helped to make my first full year with national service as enjoyable as it had been hectic and stimulating.

There was a delightful interlude in May at Ditchley Park, England, where Winston Churchill occasionally spent weekends during the war to get away from the blitz. The Ditchley Foundation had invited me to a conference on Rescue, Relief and Service. Kurt Hahn, the founder of Outward Bound was there as was his former pupil, Prince Philip, who chaired the meeting.

I went there expecting to enjoy the company, the

food and the setting, thinking it would be a rah-rah session of Old Boys for Outward Bound with little serious talk of national service.

Instead, much of the discussion focused on national service and Prince Philip was the most effective chairman I have ever seen. He was fair, knowledgeable, alert and aware of the clock. The Conference report captured the spirit of national service in these words:

> *The future is in the hands of young men and women. "Youth Service" does not in fact mean the provision of services to the young, so much as providing more opportunities for them to influence society creatively: to help the weak and under-privileged to accept responsibility, and to train themselves accordingly: to explore the open spaces of this world, to help restore an orderly healthy society: to understand and experience human* poiesy *(the arts of mankind) and to become "teachers" and friends.*[5]

It appeared to me the bulk of my national service contacts would be in Washington, D.C., so we moved there in the summer of 1967. There was enough money in our treasury to rent a small office and pay my salary for several months. I rented an eighty square foot office in downtown Washington and set up shop.

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4. "National Service Pilot Projects Proposed at Conference," *National Service Newsletter*, No. 9, April, 1967, p. 1.

5. The Ditchley Foundation, *The Training of Young People for Rescue, Relief and Service*, Holbrook and Son Ltd, Portsmouth, 1967, p. 14.

1967–1971

Service-Learning
A Bill for National Service
A National Service Pilot Project

This period was a continuation of the last one. The Vietnam War continued, the assassinations continued (notably Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy.) There was a lot of disillusionment. Where Eisenhower had, as promised, ended the Korean War within months of his inauguration, Nixon made the same promise but the Vietnam War continued for all four years of his first term. And the War on Poverty was fading away.

* * *

As the Secretariat entered this period of austerity the trustees had to decide whether:

[1] the Secretariat should cease to exist,

[2] it should respond positively to several overtures that had been made to do consulting work, or

[3] it should confine itself to national service matters with little prospect of having anything more than a minimal budget.

The trustees considered these options and we agreed:

- that it would not be right to close shop before national service had had a fair test,

- that the national service message would be diluted if the Secretariat became known as one of hundreds of Washington consulting firms, and

- that option three was therefore the preferred choice.

It was understood that I would be taking on consulting assignments as an individual and would take myself off the Secretariat's payroll while doing so.

Education and Service

During this four-year period, I probably spent more time on the educational implications of service than anything else. This was done in cooperation with the American Council on Education, the Stanford Research Institute (SRI), and the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB). I was interested in determining the extent of service activities on college campuses and found a congenial Council official in the person of Joseph Shoben, editor of the *Educational Record*. He offered to mail out a survey that I would design to all 2,000 college campuses. I would analyze the results and the Council would publish them in its journal. The result was "Service Experience and Educational Growth." (See page 78.)

Another congenial person was Terry Cullinan. He had completed his military service and was working with SRI, which he convinced to put up a little money to study service activities as a break from the academic grind. Through this project I visited a dozen or so campuses whose innovative service programs had turned up in the survey mentioned above.

Robert Terry and Louise helped with this project. It was published by SRI as *An Agenda for Off-Campus Learning Experiences*.

"Diakonia Paideia"

Cullinan and I also surveyed a random sample of former Peace Corps and VISTA Volunteers. The most interesting finding was that the ex-Volunteers, on average, reported that they learned more than they contributed while in service. It was clear that youth service should not be viewed just as a draft-related issue, as it had been in 1966, but as an educational issue as well.

This conclusion was reinforced in my work with the SREB. I had talked briefly at the 1967 National Service Conference with SREB's William Ramsay and Robert Sig-

mon. A few months later they invited me to go to Atlanta and evaluate their Resource Development Internship Project.

It was what they called a service-learning program. College students were hired as summer interns on public service projects. They were required to think ahead about the likely learning outcomes of the project. They met regularly with academic advisers. They didn't receive their final paychecks until receipt of their final reports.

It was a superbly designed operation and I said so in my report. About the only flaw I could find was the use of "service-learning" as a descriptor. If the idea was to gain the currency it deserved, I thought it needed a livelier name.

I decided to follow in the footsteps of Norbert Wiener, who had gone to the Greek language for "cybernetics". I called Elizabeth Bridge, who was the only Greek teacher I knew, and posed the problem. She recommended "diakonia paideia" as the Greek phrase closest to service-learning. I promptly made it the title of my report on SREB's service-learning program. I haven't seen a reference to "diakonia paideia" since then, but service-learning soon became a fairly common term on the nation's campuses.

The Atlanta Service-Learning Conference

Later I served with SREB as coordinator of the Atlanta Service-Learning Conference. This was a collaborative effort among the colleges and universities in Atlanta, City Hall and a number of non-profit organizations. It also included local representatives of the Peace Corps, VISTA and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

It began in the summer of 1969 with 500 students engaged in service-learning projects. U.S. Commissioner of Education James Allen gave the kick-off address. It continued through the fall and winter as various study groups conducted research and produced position papers. Early in 1970 it was wrapped up with a conference and a publication entitled *Atlanta Service-Learning Conference Report - 1970* (SREB, publisher). This year-

long activity gave a major boost to service-learning at the level of higher education.

A Topic of Debate

In 1968 the Russell Sage Foundation published our report on the 1967 meeting as *National Service: A Report of a Conference*. Except for a brief mention on the Huntley-Brinkley Report, a television news program, the book didn't attract much attention until national service was made the high school debate topic for 1968-69.

The debate organizers found very little printed material on national service and asked if there was some way the Report could be sent to schools with debate teams. The Alfred P. Sloan Foundation together with the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations decided this was a worthwhile project. They proceeded to print another 12,000 copies of the 600-page report and distribute them to high schools. Evidently it became the "bible" for a number of teams as I still occasionally meet people who ponder over the name and ask if I was the guy who wrote the book for the debate topic.

The year of debate gave me a chance to put the issue of mandatory service into perspective. This had turned out to be the major point of friction between myself and a number of otherwise congenial people whom I would have expected to support national service.

To them, my proposal was too modest because it did not challenge the draft. I had thought about this in the 1950s and concluded that the draft would be with us for a long time – at least until there was another war or until the Cold War with the Soviet Union came to an end. Their attitude was that conscription was inherently wrong and anything that was linked to it – indeed, that might make it more attractive and long-lived – was also wrong. The article beginning on page 87 was my attempt to explain my position.

The decision to make national service a debate topic was not the only spin-off from the general interest in national service during 1966 and 1967. *Current History* decided to devote an issue to national service and asked me to write an article for it.

As I had already described the rationale, design and educational aspects in recent articles, I decided to focus this piece on the quantitative side of national service. Estimates of the needs, size and cost of national service are given in "National Needs and National Service." (See p. 97.)

Two Mysteries

There were two political mysteries in 1968. In a major campaign speech on May 10, Vice President Humphrey proposed eight important areas of action. One of them was:

> *...capturing the resources of energy and commitment in our young people through a system of national service which not only distributes the burdens of military service fairly, but offers incentives and opportunities for contributing to our domestic needs.*[1]

Then he dropped it like a hot potato. He became the Democratic nominee for president. On October 2, his running-mate, Sen. Edmund Muskie, said:

> *The national service alternative would permit us to do on a broader and more meaningful scale the kinds of things we need to do if we are to become the kind of society our Declaration of Independence and the Constitution have promised.*[2]

When I followed up with Muskie's staff, they said in essence that he had made a mistake in talking about national service. My efforts to get to the bottom of these mysteries have not been fruitful. My best guess is that Humphrey and Muskie feared that President Johnson's theory – that opposition to the Vietnam War was pretty much limited to college kids afraid of being drafted – would not have held water, as young men from all walks of life, and in large numbers, opted for civilian service.

That the military had shown even mild support for national service had come as a little surprise. In just a

few years, many Americans had moved from viewing any alternative to military service as a haven for draft-dodgers, to believing that the existence of the draft permitted the government to wage an unpopular war in Vietnam. In the same time period, other Americans had moved from the same initial view of national service to one that regarded it as a way to make the draft less objectionable. Thus, some military officials came to regard national service as a way to reduce opposition to the draft, just as some civilians were concluding that national service would only prolong the draft and, therefore, the war.

A Bill for National Service

Given the intensity of feelings about the draft during this period, it was surprising that the first legislator to sponsor a national service bill was one strongly opposed to the draft.

This is how it happened. Sen. Mark Hatfield and I and several others were attending a meeting to talk about international service. During the discussion, I described the national service plan I had developed.

Sen. Hatfield, whom I had not met before, expressed great interest in the plan and asked me to meet with him in his office.

I did. He said he liked the National Foundation for Volunteer Service as a model for the Peace Corps and other forms of overseas service.

Hatfield was interested in changing the design of the Peace Corps; I was interested in having a national service bill introduced. Out of this alliance came S. 1937, the Youth Power Act of 1969.

Hatfield insisted that there be no mention of the draft in the bill. This was fine with me because I was trying to make people see that draft inequities were not the only reason to consider national service.

Apart from this one caveat, he gave me carte blanche to write a bill to my liking. Working with his staff aide and a Congressional bill writer, I did it.

Most of the money in the bill would have gone for stipends to 17-27 year olds engaged in service-learning activities.

Hatfield introduced the bill on April 22, 1969. It didn't get anywhere legislatively but Hatfield sent copies of it to a number of college presidents. He received many thoughtful replies, most of them supportive.

With Nixon's election in 1968, it was clear that we were moving toward a volunteer military. I tried to keep national service before the Congress and the public as a preferred option.

I testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that national service was more important than the means by which we recruited members of the armed forces. (See p. 104.)[1] My sense of priorities was not shared by many others. To most people, the big question was the draft; national service was a related but secondary issue. They would pay little attention to national service once the draft issue was solved in a way that satisfied them.

I wrote an article in *The Retired Officer* (see p. 107) suggesting that a voluntary national service might have to be instituted to get enough recruits for the volunteer military. My protestations were in vain. The end of the draft in 1973, together with the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, led to a decline in social activism among young people. This shift – combined with increased military pay, smaller numbers of military personnel and increased youth unemployment – permitted a voluntary military to exist without a voluntary national service.

Odd Jobs

The Secretariat provided useful information to a number of groups that were looking into various aspects of youth policy during this period:

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[1] The statement referred to at the end of the testimony is the same as that on p. 116. The two colleagues mentioned are Sen. Birch Bayh and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

- Clark Kerr,[3] and his higher education study groups,

- James Coleman, chairman of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee,[4] and

- Gov. William Scranton with the President's Commission on Campus Unrest.[5]

All made use of our materials. All had positive things to say about national service.

At its annual meeting in 1968, the American Association for Higher Education passed a resolution accusing higher education of neglecting its public service responsibility in favor of teaching and research. They recommended:

> *Extension of the classroom into the community of the disadvantaged through such activities as awarding college credits for service performed by students, and the development of community service projects. Such activity might well include cooperation with such agencies as the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, the National Service Secretariat, as well as other recognized community service agencies.*[6]

Occasionally I met with small groups of disadvantaged young people. After I gave a brief talk on national service, their first question was, "Where do I sign up?" For the most part, they were looking for jobs but it was clear that they were also taken with the idea of doing something constructive and having it be considered as important as military service. They were generally affiliated with a school or youth club and they knew about the Employment Service and Job Corps, so I had little new to give them by way of referrals. I felt discouraged after these sessions and hoped I could return some day and tell them where they could sign up.

It was less discouraging to talk with young people more well-to-do because they had more options before them. When meeting with them, I tried to get them to

view service as a sensible kind of activity – not one reserved for the saintly – and to think about integrating service with their studies. An example of this occurred in a visit with the Encampment for Citizenship in Montana in 1969. (See p. 73.)

One rather unusual consulting job was to describe 100 innovative ideas for the National Education Association. These were not my ideas but ones I had read or heard about and that seemed relevant to the areas of youth policy and education.

One of them had to do with a country club in the midwest whose members invited poor youngsters from the city to play golf with them every week or two. It was a great experience for them to rub shoulders with community leaders on pretty much an equal footing. As a result, the young people did better at school and had access to the kinds of summer and part-time jobs normally reserved for the children of country club members.

Why couldn't this idea catch on and be replicated nationwide? As Thomas Edison observed in regard to inventions, it served as a reminder that innovations also are 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration.

I followed up on the two major recommendations of the 1967 National Service Conference; namely, a compilation of current service opportunities for young people and a national service pilot project. In 1968, the Secretariat published the *Directory of Service Organizations*. It lists hundreds of national, state and local organizations offering service opportunities. It contains guidelines for the individual or group of young people interested in serving, and includes a preprint of "Service Experience and Educational Growth" (See p. 78.) In addition, I looked into a computerized system for matching young people with service opportunities. I wrote a proposal called "Service Opportunities System" which would have utilized computers to match young people with service jobs. The proposal attracted some interest but no financial support.

Pilot Projects in Theory

My second task stemming from the 1967 conference

Encampment Told

Service Is Part Of Learning

Choice of future college courses and careers in social service of members of the Encampment for Citizenship may be in the making this week as Donald J. Eberly, consultant on professional jobs in volunteer service, Washington, D.C., discusses service opportunities open to young people today.

Eberly, former consultant to the Peace Corps and the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, will deal with volunteer community service and careers in social change at the encampment this week.

"Service should be as much a part of the learning process as study and research," Eberly claimed in his talk to the encampers this morning.

He told of Neighborhood Youth Corps young people, school dropouts formerly considered as "dumb kids," who are proving to be better at tutoring the disadvantaged than people with master's degrees.

Eberly cited the Peace Corps returnee who claimed she got more out of serving two years with the Peace Corps than in four years of college.

"Sociology professors will have to give up their notes for their Ph.D. papers and move with the times," he said.

Community service offers a two-way benefit, Eberly indicated. The need of youthful qualities and capabilities by communities can be seen by the many agencies, such as Peace Corps and VISTA, operating today. By the same token, community service helps fulfill youngsters' deep need to be useful.

Appropriate to the encampment session nearing an end here next week was Eberly's call to encampers this morning to discuss in workshop sessions over the next three days what they have learned in their community service performed weekly in Great Falls since their arrival. They will determine if their experience here has affected their choice in courses at school next fall. They will also try to determine what they have learned about people through their experience in Great Falls and of the forces, such as politics and finance, that govern a community.

"That community service is only for do-gooders is a myth," Eberly stated. He added that his three years of teaching in Nigeria were the best years of his life, contrary to the predic-

tion by friends it would be all grimness and sacrifice.

He referred to Job Corps, Teacher Corps, Peace Corps, VISTA, NYC and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, among other UN agencies, as being a few of the organizations in which young people may do community work. He mentioned briefly Wilmington, Ohio, College and University of Oregon as being among colleges and universities offering off-campus work in the field of the student's interest for a semester as part of their curricula.

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was to formulate a national service pilot project. I talked with officials of the National Highway Safety Board and designed a National Service Highway Safety Patrol Corps (see p. 111). This seemed to me to be a good example because several of the dimensions of national service were well represented in it:

- Young people would be given significant responsibility.
- There was an element of risk.
- There were opportunities for training that would carry over to post-service employment.
- Teams would be formed of young people from different walks of life.

The highway safety project has yet to be tested but a general purpose pilot project that I designed a little later fared better. I presented it in early 1971 to a conference on "Youth and National Service " organized by Morris Janowitz, founder of the Inter-Uni-

versity Seminar on Armed Forces and Society. My suggestions in "A National Service Pilot Project" (see p. 114) helped to shape the Program for Local Service launched two years later by ACTION.

The Secretariat ran out of foundation money early in 1969. When our bank balance fell below $1,000, I took myself off the payroll and moved our office from downtown to our home. It is still there. Louise volunteered to do the typing and has typed scores of papers and thousands of letters since then.

There were occasional moments of great hope during this time. One day I was invited to New York City to have lunch with John D. Rockefeller, III. Youth policy was one of his interests and evidently he wanted to check out national service.

Although he was quite shy, we had a good conversation. I left thinking that he would take some initiative with national service.

Instead, he concluded that federal involvement with national service would make it too bureaucratic. The several hundred biggest corporations and universities, he said, were the ones that should take the lead with national service.

Alas, he never did anything, so far as I am aware, to further this recommendation.

Blatchford and ACTION

A more fruitful relationship started when Joseph Blatchford, whom President Nixon had appointed to head the Peace Corps, told his Peace Corps staff that he wanted to learn about national service. One or more persons recommended that he talk with me.

I soon learned from Blatchford that he had been captivated by the national service idea ever since reading William James' "Moral Equivalent of War" in college. We had lunch every six months or so to explore possibilities but there was little he could do with only the Peace Corps portfolio and in the face of Nixon's known antipathy toward national service.

This changed on January 14, 1971, when Nixon made a speech that seemed to support national service:

There needs to be something more than the absence of war. Young people need something positive to respond to — some high enterprise in which they can test themselves and fulfill themselves.... I believe that government has a responsibility to ensure that the idealism and willingness to contribute of our dedicated young people be put to constructive use.[5]

By mid-1971, Nixon had executed a reorganization plan that created ACTION, a new agency that would embrace the Peace Corps, VISTA and other volunteer service programs. He named Blatchford to head it. By August I was working at ACTION.

[Narrative continued on p. 129.]

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7. "Nixon Moves to Consolidate Service Programs," *National Service Newsletter*, No. 18, May 1971, p. 1.

84

Service Experience and Educational Growth

Donald J. Eberly

What the Establishment can't grasp is that you can get a better education from two years with VISTA or the Peace Corps than from four years in your major universities.[1]

AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES have been slow to recognize the relevance of service activities to the educational process. Almost universally, they commend the service activities of their students but seldom take the extra logical steps of awarding academic credit for and funding such activities (See Table 1A). Because of the increasing numbers of young people participating in government and private sponsored service programs—many of them student-initiated—higher education will soon have to face the issue of its stance on the relationship between service and the academic curriculum.

The rationale for developing a service curriculum can be identified in the philosophical statements of William James and John Dewey. James stressed the dependence of cognition on feeling and experience. Without them, one can do little more than acquire a bundle of facts; he can know *about* something, but he cannot *know* it.[2] Dewey went beyond this theory to noting its practical application, pointing to the enormous amount of learning acquired by the pre-school child in undirected play activities. He advocated the provision of increased opportunity for similar kinds of learning situations in school.[3]

These philosophies have not existed in a void but have inspired colleges, notably Antioch, to introduce work-study programs. The purpose of Antioch's program, begun in 1921, is "to equip students to live effectively in a complex world." [4] Well over half of the organizations in which Antioch students obtain their work experience involve the fields of health, education, and other forms of community and public service. Among the handful of institutions that have

[1] Joanne Palmisano, Letter to the Editor, *Look*, November 28, 1967 (31), p. 16.

[2] Gay Wilson Allen, *William James* (New York: The Viking Press, 1967), pp. 266–67.

[3] John Dewey, "Interest and Effort in Education," *Intelligence In the Modern World*, ed. Joseph Ratner (New York: The Modern Library, 1939), pp. 607–14.

[4] "The Cooperative Plan," *Antioch College Bulletin*, October 1965 (62).

TABLE 1: *Institutional Support for the Service Curriculum*

Early in 1968, the Commission on Academic Affairs of the American Council on Education and the National Service Secretariat conducted a postcard survey of 2,106 colleges and universities to determine the nature and the extent of their support for off-campus service activities. Service activities were defined in the survey as those "(a) which contribute to the welfare of others; (b) whose rate of compensation, if any, is facilitative only; and (c) which, unlike *work* experiences, are not designed basically as apprentice programs."

Survey Statement	Percent Affirmative Replies *
(A) Kind of Support	
"We give moral support to the value of service experiences."	93
"Our faculty assists with training and orientation of students for service experiences."	63
"We pay one or more persons to coordinate service activities of students."	28
"We award academic credit for qualifying service experiences."	13
"We offer financial support to permit students to undertake service experiences."	23
(B) Campuses with Identifiable Person in Charge	87

Position of Person in Charge	Percent
Dean	43
Other administrator	19
Chaplain/religious affairs	9
Faculty member	9
Director of student activities	9
Service coordinator	5
President	4
Student	1
Title not given	1

Affirmative Replies to Survey Statements (A)	Number of Institutions Replying
To all five	25
To any four	68
To any three	127
To any two	207
To any one	177
No statement	19
Total	623

* Replies received by the end of February, breakdown as shown above.

developed programs which place service experiences clearly within the framework of the educational process are Anderson College (Indiana), California State College at Los Angeles, Dartmouth College, Franconia College (New Hampshire), Harvard College, Idaho State University, Iowa Wesleyan College, Lewis and Clark College, Lincoln University, Marymount College (New York), Mercer County Community College (New Jersey), Northeastern Junior College (Colorado), Radcliffe College, University of Washington, and Wilmington College (Ohio). The State University College at Old Westbury, New York, has not yet opened its doors to students, but administrators are already planning a service curriculum with the help of youthful advisers.

IN RESPONSE *to a growing demand by students for the accreditation of learning experiences beyond the campus, colleges and universities—both individually and collectively—are developing various types of service-oriented curricula. Donald J. Eberly, Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat, describes four programs that wed the notion of community service to accepted academic goals, and suggests guidelines for institutions planning such expansion of their curriculum.*

What differentiates a service experience from another kind of work experience? Because service for one person is a job for another, the experience must be defined primarily as a relationship between the activity and the person performing it. A service experience, as used in this paper, combines the following characteristics, to a greater or lesser degree:

1. The accomplishment of the activity contributes to the welfare of others.
2. The psychic income associated with the activity is sufficient to overcome its low level of financial reward.
3. The activity provides the performer with a basis for balancing materialistic and humanitarian considerations when he chooses a direction for his career.

A three-legged stool

Like the three-legged stool, a trio of forces gives shape, support, and stability to a service curriculum. One leg is the community's need for service. This need is most visibly expressed in the educational and medical deprivation of residents of the inner city. It also reaches out to the suburban ghettoes where affluent youths are ignorant of the feelings of hunger, hopelessness, and discrimination of their fellow man on the other side of the beltway. It continues to the poor rural youth, to Indian reservations, and overseas to the multitudes in need of health and educational assistance. A common characteristic of many of these needs is that they can be effectively attacked by teenagers and young adults who do not yet possess a handful of certificates and diplomas.

The second leg is the students' desire for personal commitment and societal involvement. Brought up in front of a TV set, identified by a bewildering array of numbers, and tested by machines, today's youth wants to do things that are real. He wants experience. He wants to live. His emotional needs will not be met in the offices of government or business, but in a direct personal link with someone in need.

The third leg is in place when the faculty recognizes the educational value of the service experience. Firsthand experience has long been considered essential to the study of the physical and biological sciences. Educators have deemed experimentation in these areas sufficiently important to allocate time to them even in the elementary school. Yet, aspiring teachers are generally not allowed to try out teaching until they have nearly completed their formal education; and the same is true for social workers. At last, however, the pros are recognizing that, so long as there is a will to serve and an appropriate assignment, young people in high school and college can derive significant educational value from the service experience.

The merging of the community's service needs, the young people's desire to become involved, and the faculty's recognition of the service experience as academically valuable yields a service curriculum. Peace Corps and VISTA Volunteers returning to campuses after their period of service are forcing colleges to face the question of whether to grant academic credit for their experience. The Peace Corps has found that many institutions give credit for particular aspects of the three-month training period, but only a small fraction give credit for the actual service.[5] Even more surprising, most educational institutions had not considered their stance on service credits until some students sought such recognition.

Before dealing directly with the issue of academic credit for service experiences, it may be instructive to examine four different kinds of institutions, observing the role played by each of the forces in the evolution of the service curriculum and noting the magnitude of funding needed for these different approaches to the service curriculum.

An Ivy League approach

Harvard and Radcliffe students have long gone off campus to serve their fellow man. Phillips Brooks House, at the corner of Harvard Yard, has been the symbol of Harvard's moral support of student-initiated service activities. Accompanying this institutional blessing, however, has gone the implicit feeling that to reward service with academic or financial credit would be to tarnish its value.

[5] Eleanor F. Liebman, "Report on Academic Credit and the Peace Corps" (Unpublished document, Washington: Peace Corps, May 8, 1967).

These attitudes are now changing, and, in 1966, the beginnings of a service curriculum were introduced through the initiative of Radcliffe's President Mary I. Bunting. The Harvard-Radcliffe service curriculum, Education for Action (E$_A$A) has all the necessary ingredients for providing educationally meaningful service opportunities for students.

As well as moral support from the administration, E$_A$A receives help from faculty members in conducting seminars and teaching in orientation programs. E$_A$A also has a full-time director, Susan Bartholemew, and it has money—two $25,000 grants from the Ford Foundation. Eighty percent of the first grant was allocated for the direct support of summer service experience for 24 students. The balance of the grant covered administration and instruction costs.

Significantly, E$_A$A carries academic credit for one of its seminars. Begun as a seminar on "Teaching in Urban Areas" last year, the course, which requires field experience of the E$_A$A variety, was translated into "educationese" and now appears in the official Harvard register as "Social Sciences 121. Studies in Education: The Changing Function of American Education in the City." There were 75 qualified applicants for the 15 openings in the course last autumn.

The brief existence of E$_A$A has already led to the institutionalization of two aspects of the service curriculum. Providing information on summer service opportunities for students brought such a deluge of requests to E$_A$A that Radcliffe, with its own funds, has added a half-time staff member to cope with the demand. Deciding on financial awards to needy students proved both awkward and time-consuming for the student selection committee, so at its request, these decisions have been assumed by Radcliffe's Financial Aid Office.

In her first annual report on E$_A$A, Mrs. Bunting identified the major results:

> Summer service offered opportunities for students to develop capabilities not ordinarily called into play in the academic year or in summer jobs.
>
> Students expressed tremendous satisfaction in the fact that through E$_A$A the College seemed interested in giving them assistance to do things that seemed worthwhile *to them*.
>
> The college was made aware that summer service experience was available only to students from relatively well-to-do families, apart from those who benefited from E$_A$A financial support.
>
> Many students in E$_A$A summer service discovered problems and interests that helped to resolve their career decisions. This resolution generally led to academic improvement.
>
> Students who worked overseas and in new situations in this country emphasized the advantages of involvement in service projects for the person eager to acquaint himself with unfamiliar cultures.
>
> Faculty members noted distinct contributions to student theses and classroom discussions as an outcome of E$_A$A summer service.

An urban approach

The service curriculum of the California State College at Los Angeles began as an answer to a management problem. Two years ago, this urban institution, which enrolls about 20,000 students, had small student-run community service projects that were rather unsatisfactory because students spent more time on administrative chores than on actually helping in the community. Also, more students were volunteering to serve the community than could be effectively placed by the student organizations. At the same time as the surplus of volunteers existed, various college offices were receiving more requests for student volunteers than could be filled in the staff's spare time.

Educational Participation in Communities (EPIC) was thus launched in mid-1966 with a goal of recruiting and training 500 students to participate in various community projects. The key to the EPIC program is its full-time professional staff who, with student coordinators, provide a kind of "infrastructure" which makes possible a large-scale student service project. In its first year, the staff worked with 82 community agencies—probation departments, medical and mental hospitals, schools, recreation centers—to identify areas of need that could be served through student help. The staff then assumed the responsibility of recruiting and training the volunteers, following up when volunteer problems arose, and assisting in evaluating the volunteer's role within the agency.

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Every student who wants to serve is welcome to join EPIC. The EPIC staff coordinates training programs which are conducted by members of the faculty and community. After the volunteer is placed with a project on the basis of his interests and abilities, he attends periodic meetings and seminars to discuss both the service and the educational aspects of his EPIC participation.

So far, there is no campus-wide policy on the granting of credit for service with EPIC. It is currently worked out on an individual basis among the faculty member, the student, and a member of the EPIC staff. Sometimes, EPIC service is recognized in lieu of term papers or other classroom assignments. Other times, it may form the basis for a term paper, or the service experience may earn the students one or two college credits of independent study.

In addition to academic credit for the student, the Cal State administration perceives EPIC as contributing to the overall quality of education. "By bringing his experiences into the classroom," reports Dean of Students Edmond C. Hallberg, "the EPIC volunteer keeps the curricula relevant and susceptible to change." An institution that seeks out this kind of student feedback may find itself quite able to maintain academic standards and contemporary relevance without having to pass through the cathartic but chaotic stage of a confrontation with student power advocates.

Three-quarters of the funding for EPIC, whose budgets were $87,000 the first year and $112,000 the second, has come from Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. The remainder of the budgets were raised from the California State Colleges and the campus student association. The combination of money, professional staff, student interest, community need, and faculty involvement resulted in more than 1,000 students serving with EPIC during its first year—twice the original target.

Critics of EPIC say it's a whitewash: "after it's over you can't see any difference in the EPIC volunteer or the persons he served." They see the need for a more total experience. They predict negligible impact unless the volunteer eats, sleeps, works, laughs, cries, suffers, and exults with the small group of persons he professes to serve.

A *small college approach*

The Outreach program of Franconia College in New Hampshire is designed to do just that. The college was opened in 1963 with the idea that the service experience should be an integral part of its curriculum. Robert G. Greenway, Franconia's first Director of Program Development, says that the rationale for a service experience was derived from "carefully thought-out assumptions about social values and their relationship to liberal arts, rather than as a response to anomie and alienation." [6] "The concept of liberal arts," he said, "must encourage development of skills to preserve, utilize and enhance personal freedom, must provide opportunities to test these skills, and must recognize actions as values-made-visible." [7] Franconia's President Richard R. Ruopp goes on to suggest that a service curriculum helps the student to differentiate between real education and superficial symbols:

> A student needs clearly to confront his choice of education and its consequences. Preferably before, certainly soon after he enters college, he must face the meaning of real study and the pursuit of knowledge. Only thus can he accept the responsibility that his activities must meet the needs of his growing person rather than the external criteria of grades, degrees, financial success, and status.[8]

This theory is put into practice at two stages of a student's career at Franconia. He may spend one quarter during his first two years off campus in a study-research-service project, and, again in his last two years, he may spend as much as three quarters on such a project. In either case, the student must first formulate his project and submit

[6] Robert G. Greenway, "A Role for Colleges and Universities in a National Service Program," *A Profile of National Service*, ed. Donald J. Eberly (Washington: National Service Secretariat, 1966), p. 44.

[7] Greenway, pp. 43–44.

[8] Richard R. Ruopp, *Franconia College Proceedings*, 1966 (3), p. 4.

it to the faculty for approval. Then he undertakes the project, keeping in touch, meanwhile, with his faculty advisors. Upon return to campus, the student prepares the results for faculty validation and considers how he may use his Outreach experience as the basis for further study. Finally, he submits the report on his project to the faculty for validation, which is tantamount to the awarding of academic credit. The experience of a student in sociology offers an example of the educational significance of Franconia's Outreach.

For his senior Outreach experience, William Sumner became a VISTA Volunteer with a plan to make a sociological survey in the traditional manner. His VISTA assignment was to help organize a Headstart Project in Del Norte, Colorado. The VISTA assignment upset his plans in two ways. First, he found himself so involved in the nascent Headstart program that he had little time to work on his research project. Second, as he did put his assignment into shape and take time to reflect on his proposed academic work, he found that the experience had changed his whole outlook on the proper conduct of his survey.

While Sumner was learning through involvement, he decided to conduct a survey that would directly involve the subjects and, at the same time, allow him to utilize his hobby of photography. He hit upon the idea of teaching the poor people with whom he was working to take pictures as the first steps in a series of photographic essays. He followed up with informal interviews in which the photographer-subjects explained the meaning of the pictures. Upon completion of his year with VISTA, Sumner turned down a VISTA offer to supervise a regional project and he is now back at Franconia preparing his project for its validation test.

As a result of his Outreach experience, Sumner concluded that formal education was not enough. He sees education as a process which cannot properly be carried on if confined to the campus limits: it must fully embrace the world of experience as well as the world of academe.

Colleges whose concept of education stops at the walls of i[illegible]ve little but the option of dropout to students seeking participation in the real world. In contrast, a college that combines the opportunity for off-campus service experiences with the opportunity for on-campus academic reflection on the experiences, can engender in their students a thirst for educational involvement complementary to their thirst for societal involvement.

A regional approach

The organizational base for a service curriculum does not have to be a single campus. The Resource Development Internship Program of the Southern Regional Education Board provided service-learning experiences for 96 students from 47 southern campuses in the summer of 1967. Begun in 1966, under the aegis of Oak Ridge Associated Universities—a non-profit corporation of 41 Southern universities and colleges—the internship program grew from a civic association's need for more manpower than was available from non-paid volunteers and the nuclear science internship program financed by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The civic body, the Clinch-Powell River Association, obtained financial support from the Tennessee Valley Authority and a foundation grant, and used their own funds as well to launch a program having four students in the summer of 1964, and seven students the following summer. Impressed with the performance of the interns, TVA encouraged the Oak Ridge group in early 1966 to extend the program to other development agencies and to invite participation by additional sponsors.

The member institutions of the Oak Ridge group formed a basic constituency from which to draw interns and professional guidance. The 1965 TVA interns had identified service needs that could be tackled by summer interns, and the internship program in nuclear science provided an administrative model.

All that was needed to launch the program was, as usual, money, and this was obtained in roughly equal parts from the Department of Commerce, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. These sponsoring agen-

cies were joined in 1967 by the Department of Labor and the Appalachian Regional Commission of Tennessee. Last summer, the interns were widely dispersed, serving with 79 local and state organizations.

Multiple agency sponsorship is notorious for the headaches it produces. While contending with separate bookkeeping and reporting arrangements for the different contracts, the leaders of the SREB Resource Development Project, Michael Hart, William Ramsay, and Robert Lee Sigmon, have devised a system which provides for equal treatment for all interns and for positive exploitation of their manifold support base. They have introduced the notion of coupled internships to demonstrate to the interns and their colleagues the mutuality of interests that exist regardless of bureaucratic boundaries. Last summer, for instance, three interns subjected a multicounty area near Athens, Georgia, to close scrutiny; the OEO intern explored characteristics of the unemployed, the Labor intern made an inventory of labor needs, and the Commerce intern analyzed industrial opportunities. As part of the educational tie-in of the program, the university counselors for the three interns brought them together for periodic discussions.

Two-day seminars were held in the summer of 1967 to further the educational benefits of the program. In these seminars, whose optimal size was found to be in the range of 15-20 students, interns were deliberately mixed by project sponsorship, age, sex, and academic background, and they were given responsibility for making presentations at the seminars. University counselors and development staff played a minimal role, serving primarily as resource personnel.

Academic credit is awarded for some internships. On occasion, it has been treated as independent study; other times, it has counted as part of a seminar course; and some candidates for higher degrees have translated their service experience into thesis research.

To ensure meaningful projects, a staff member of SREB normally visits the local organization and assists in the development of a project outline. Upon assuming his assignment, the intern is asked to prepare a more precise project plan. For each project, a committee of three—usually an agency employee with whom the intern will be working daily, the intern's university counselor, and a third person in the field of the intern's assignment—is appointed. The first allowance check is sent to the committee chairman to pass on to the intern; subsequent checks follow the submission of the intern's biweekly performance and expense statement, certified by the chairman. The final check is not sent until the intern submits an acceptable final report.

Overall costs of the program total approximately $2500 per intern. This sum covers a basic allowance of $65 per week for undergraduates or $75 per week for graduates (the same range of allowances as received by VISTA Volunteers), costs of transportation and administration, and the cost of publishing each intern's final report. (This publication is a source of pride to the interns and helps to ensure agency follow-through on the projects of the interns.) Confronted with over 600 requests for summer interns in 1968, the program is beginning to decentralize. For the 12-week program this summer, the University of Georgia and several other southern universities will initiate internship-seminar programs in which they will assume most program functions in addition to providing educational counseling.

In the intern project, the motivation to join appears to be pegged more to the prospect of an interesting summer job than to an urge to serve others. But a well-structured summer experience with a public service agency has an undeniable impact. One intern decided to shift his career in accounting toward a more social emphasis on economic opportunities for the underprivileged. The counselor of an intern in law reported

> My impression is that he was quite deeply affected by what he saw, heard, and did . . . He has volunteered to do research work on the legal problems of the poor.[9]

[9] *Manpower for Development—Summer 1966* (Oak Ridge, Tennessee: Resource Development Office, Oak Ridge Associated Universities, 1967), p. 25.

And another intern said at the end of his project, for which he worked a month beyond his last paycheck,

> Above everything else I got out of this project, I have learned that there are civic responsibilities, part of which I must accept as I enter my profession.[10]

Financial hurdles

The main financial hurdles to making service experiences universally available to students are of two heights. The low hurdle is the administrative one. Judging by present programs, a sum of $10 per enrolled student per year would be sufficient to cover the salaries of professional staff together with normal overhead, which is frequently absorbed by general funds. Eventually, administrative costs of the service curriculum would probably be built into the overall college budget;[11] in the interim period, outside support appears necessary.[12]

The high hurdle takes the form of economic discrimination as a determinant of who may serve. Scholarship students are often required to work during the school year and the summers in order to maintain their scholarships. If tutoring could be substituted for washing dishes, many more students would be enabled to derive the benefits of a service experience. The Work-Study program under Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 makes this possible. To date, it appears that very limited use is being made of this resource. Only 35 of the 623 respondents to the service curriculum survey (Table 1) reported the use of Work-Study funds to support students undertaking off-campus service activities. With an appropriation of $140 million in fiscal year 1968 and expected participation in excess of 200,000 students, Work-Study funds are clearly a major resource for getting over the financial hurdle to a service experience.

A more comprehensive source of funds would be available if financial credit were granted for service experiences, along the lines of the GI Bill. A full year of service experience, for example, might qualify a young person for two years of further education. If such a program could be designed so as not to distort the character of the service-learning experience, it would be worthwhile considering it together with the Zacharias proposal for an Educational Opportunity Bank. It is worth noting that service financial credits would be well suited for the two groups—women and the poor—which, Zacharias notes in his proposal, are most overlooked.

It can be argued that attaching money to voluntary service devalues the concept and the experience. When this argument is examined closely, it boils down to the way in which the money is to be used, not the use of money *per se*. Thus, money may be used to overcome obstacles to a service experience, but not as an incentive to make service more financially attractive than alternative uses of time.

Accreditation

Until the approach to academic credit becomes less rigid and more relevant, the task of defining the service as part of the academic curriculum will be fairly complex. On one hand, academic credit is geared to rather rigid designs and quantifiable performances. On the other hand, the service experience has minimal structure and a learning derivative that does not lend itself to traditional measuring instruments. A brief look at three distinct aspects of the service curriculum will suggest ways of tackling the question of whether to award academic credit for it.

The first is the idea of public service as a value worth passing on to succeeding generations. Transmission of cultural values and customs has been the central purpose of the curriculum since earliest times. Conceivably, credit could be awarded to students who have learned how to serve their fellow man just as it is awarded for learning a language. More likely, the concept of public service as a heritage belongs closer to the domain of such values as individual rights

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Late last year, the Board of Trustees of Michigan State University established an Office of Volunteer Programs supported by regular University funds to coordinate the services of over 2,000 student volunteers.

[12] Also late last year, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz announced a policy that would provide advice, assistance, and small grants to college student groups wishing to undertake constructive projects.

and minority dissent. Seen in this light, the college is obliged to provide opportunities for service experiences comparable with the obligation to uphold the right of freedom of speech.

The second is the contribution of a service experience to a variety of personal attributes clustering around self-development. Growth in maturity, self-confidence, and discretion in choosing a career do not belong to any one discipline. If academic credit is to be awarded for this set of outcomes, it belongs with credit given for general education courses, or as basic requirements for a degree, although it is debatable whether a service experience should join the line of such benevolent impositions as compulsory chapel and swimming lessons.

The third reflects the Jamesian theory of cognition in that a service experience can illuminate, fortify, and perhaps rearrange a shaky conceptual structure of knowledge. At the same time, the experience can add breadth to a student's grasp of the subject matter by exposing him to topics not covered in the lectures and textbooks. These aspects of education are most closely associated with particular courses of study—e.g. economics, education, psychology, and social work. Because of the design of the credit system, academic credit for service experiences is normally given for the course most closely linked to the service experience. This approach has been followed in each of the service curricula described in this paper.

Common elements

These four examples illustrate the viability of a flexible approach. They reflect fairly wide variations in motivating forces, cost per student, and intensity of the service experience. They also possess common elements that may be formulated as recommendations deserving serious review by an institution that wishes to develop a service curriculum:

1. The service curriculum should evolve from cooperation among students, faculty, administration, and the community to be served.
2. Service activities should respond to real needs.
3. The student who serves should have a hand in assessing the nature of service required and defining the task to be done.
4. The task assigned to the student should require him to stretch his capacities, although not necessarily in all directions at once.
5. Institutional support should be available as appropriate, with a sequential development along these lines:
   (a) Moral commitment to the educational value of properly executed service experience.
   (b) Faculty assistance in training and orientation.
   (c) One full-time professional staff person.
   (d) Provision for academic credit for service experience.
   (e) Sufficient financial backing to allow all students to participate.

Service curricula are becoming increasingly available on American campuses. Few institutions, however, have advanced beyond the first two stages—moral support and faculty participation. Subsequent stages —full-time administrators, adequate funding, and provision for academic credit—will be more demanding of campus intellects and exchequers. The important thing is to ensure that all students have an opportunity for involvement with their fellow man in a conceptual framework that permits the greatest amount of learning to occur.

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NATIONAL SERVICE: ITS RATIONALE AND DESIGN*

By Donald J. Eberly†

Compulsory is a pejorative word today. Unless we intend to damn American education, we speak of universal, rather than compulsory, education. Similarly, the draft is generally referred to as selective service, yet those who have been marched off to jail for refusing to serve think of it as compulsory.

To talk about a system that would help to meet the nation's military, social, educational, and health needs as compulsory service is to place the issue of civil liberties in neon lights and to downgrade other important issues.

This paper will not neglect the question of compulsion but it will place it on the continuum with the pressures and incentives in life with which we are all familiar. And it will place compulsion where it belongs—at the end of the agenda. For compulsion is subsumed under the question of *how* we intend to accomplish something. First we must direct our attention to what needs to be accomplished in terms of national defense, education, health, conservation, manpower, social relations, and the relevance of a youth service program to those needs.

The Defense Problem

The first societal need—so long as the American people wish to remain a sovereign nation—is the maintenance of adequate defense forces. A large-scale youth service program which exempted its participants and its ex-participants from liability to military service could, in times of major military build-ups, weaken the defense forces and thereby threaten national sovereignty. Granting the case for continued sovereignty, exemptions for youth service activities would have to be ruled out.

A secondary effect of youth service on the armed forces could be that the latter, if dependent primarily on volunteer enlistments, might fail to attract a sufficient number of certain types of young people, *e.g.*, scien-

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*Prepared for *Compulsory Service Systems: The Forensic Quarterly*, Vol. 42 (May 1968). Copyright 1968. All rights reserved.

†Mr. Eberly, Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat in Washington, D. C., edited *A Profile of National Service* in 1966. His book, *National Service*, is in the process of publication at this time and will be released later this spring or in the early part of this summer.

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tists and technicians. In the absence of exemptions for youth service, it is only a minor problem since the scientists and technicians could be conscripted if needed.

A third effect on the military of a youth service program has to do with the non-military activities presently conducted by the armed forces. An earthquake in Chile, a forest fire in the Rockies, or a flood on the Mississippi will bring in the assistance of soldiers, sailors, and marines. Reasonably so, since they are easily mobilized, well-disciplined, and usually nearby. One of the activities of a national service program would be an emergency relief unit, which would presumably take over this function from the military. This development could be partly negative from the military standpoint, since it would deprive them of the goodwill achieved by coming to the rescue in natural disasters; and partly positive, since it would relieve the armed forces of this responsibility and enable them to proceed more efficiently with their regular military training and operations.

Fourth, in terms of putting one's life on the line, it should be noted that the modern army has a support ratio of about 7:1, *i.e.*, it takes about seven soldiers serving as cooks, engineers, clerks, truck drivers, medics, and so on to support one soldier in the firing line. Thus, there is a descending order of hazardous duty, from the front-line soldier to his support staff in the field, to the support and reserve forces in the United States. It is probable that some activities in a youth service program would produce greater fatality rates than certain sections of the military establishment, such as those at the Pentagon.

National Service as Education

In the long run, a youth service program would most likely find its greatest pay-off in the field of education. Not the old-fashioned education of one teacher and thirty pupils, where what is "taught" by the teacher may bear little or no relationship to what is learned by the students. Even in so-called homogeneous school groupings, every student learns at a different rate and within a different framework.

The new education to be facilitated by a youth service program would be a one-to-one relationship between teacher and student. Every high school student could spend one hour each day tutoring a pupil in elementary school, the same pupil each day for a year. College students would be tutors for high school students. This would constitute such a profound change in our educational system that not all the consequences can be foreseen.

From the research done to date however, there is one astounding result: While the recipient of the tutoring makes educational gains somewhat in excess of his fellow students not being tutored, *the tutor gains three or four times as much as his fellow student.*[1]

Thus, apart from the humanitarian contributions of young people in a service program, those who serve can expect to derive significant educational benefits. A young person wrote to *Look* magazine last year: "What the Establishment can't grasp is that you can get a better education from two years with VISTA or the Peace Corps than from four years in your major universities."[2] This challenge suggests a major design for a youth service program: It must be articulated with schools, colleges, and universities in such a way as to yield significant learning experiences. For example, a young person serving as a tutor should participate in courses or seminars on child development and educational psychology. Normally among the "deadest" of courses in a school of education, they can be brought to life if each of the students is spending several hours a week trying to help a child to read and write. Again, a person serving in a new cultural milieu should have access to the field of sociology. A person serving as a forest ranger or rebuilding the landscape in Appalachia should be able to study ecology.

Many respected educators said a quarter of a century ago that veterans returning from World War II would be unable to get back their learning habits; they would be distracted by what they had seen and done and would want to get on with their careers and with rearing families. Seldom have so many distinguished people been so wrong! The returning GIs had gained the perspective and experience to know what they wanted from higher education. Unlike the storied college sophomore who is searching to find his place in the universe and seeking a firm frame of reference among the many thrown out to him by academia, the typical GI returned to campus and moved in a relatively undeviating line to his objective. A similar pattern may be expected of young people who have a solid service experience, who have been given real responsibility, who have had to make their own decisions.[3]

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1 Robert P. Cloward, *Studies in Tutoring* (New York: Columbia University School of Social Work, 1966), Ch. III.

2 Joanne Palmisano, Letter to the Editor, *Look*, November 28, 1967, p.16.

3 Psychiatrist Lawrence S. Kubie has suggested in *The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent* (Lawrence A. Pervin, Louise E. Reik, Willard Dalrymple, eds., Princeton University Press, 1966) that in place of the school as preparation for life, we may have to make living a preparation for schooling through service activities like the Peace Corps.

Directions for National Service

In the fields of medicine and public health, a close examination of needs and a careful definition of jobs reveals that doctors and nurses are not the only ones who can give meaningful service. Inner city medical centers are being established in the hearts of ghettos, and young people can serve effectively by going out to the community and identifying persons in need of medical attention. Also, with a few weeks' training, they can assist in the operating room and in public health information programs.

In the area of public safety, unarmed national service participants might patrol the streets to obtain medical aid for persons in need and talk with bored kids in the streets about constructive things they might do. Possibly by their very presence, they might reduce the crime rate. A program such as this could be jointly sponsored by voluntary youth agencies and the health and police departments.

The field of conservation has enormous needs, some of which could be met by national service participants. A 1964 survey by Senator Gaylord Nelson revealed at least 425,000 man-years of conservation work that could be accomplished by persons in national service.[4] Continued strip mining in Appalachia and the increased pollution of our streams, lakes, and air suggest an expanded need for vigorous young men wishing to contribute to national development.

Manpower studies indicate a need for much larger numbers of young people to enter such human services fields as health and education than are now doing so. Not only is there a significant backlog of need in these areas at present, but the rate of increase of manpower needs is expected to exceed that in such fields as agriculture and industry, where automation is performing many of the menial tasks.

Experience is the best source of information for young people making career decisions. The Peace Corps has placed many Volunteers not expecting to become teachers in teaching assignments and these experiences have doubled the number of Volunteers deciding to go into teaching as a career. Conversely, a person who spends several years in a school of education before being given any teaching experience may, when he gets his first teaching assignment, decide it's not for him. This represents a loss of money, a loss of teachers, and disappointment for an individual.

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4 Hearing of the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Conserve Human and Natural Resources of the Nation* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964).

A youth service program in which persons served full time for at least a year would give each participant a chance to try out a field of possible interest. Ideally, he should be able to choose the time. For some it would be after high school, for others in their college sophomore year, and for others after college.

Society's greatest immediate need for a youth service program of significant size and quality—let's call it national service—lies in its potential contribution to helping restore America as a melting pot. When we accepted with open arms and in fact requested the world's tired, hungry and poor, we thought the amalgams being forged in the melting pot were irreversible. But it's happening. Alienation between black and white, rich and poor, and among persons from urban, suburban, and rural areas is on the rise.

Herbert Gans, writing in *The New York Times Magazine* for January 7, 1968, observes that "white voters and their elected officials . . . lack inclination to rebuild the ghetto because they do not want to pay the taxes that would raise ghetto incomes; they are not so impelled because neither the problems of the ghetto nor even its rebellions touch their lives directly and intimately. So far most of them experience the ghetto only on television . . ."

And educator Charles Merrill writing in *The Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1967, warns, "There had better be a fair number of men and women then who have dealt with the other team (black or white) as human beings . . ."

Intellectualizing a problem is not enough. Handing out charity is not enough. Society's major problems—bigotry, disease, bad education, bad housing—can best be met through genuine understanding and common endeavor. The struggles in which national service men and women would be engaged—to make Harlem a decent place in which to live, to build new towns, to teach all children to read and write, to heal the sick, to set good examples for youthful offenders—would bring together the nation's youth in such an endeavor.

Fundamental to the national service concept[5] is the service-learning experience. A pure service experience is slavery. A pure learning experience

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5 ***"National service as a concept embraces the belief that an opportunity should be given each young person to serve his country in a manner consistent with the needs of the nation—recognizing national defense as the first priority—and consistent with the education and interests of those participating, without infringing on the personal or economic welfare of others but contributing to the liberty and well-being of all."*** Donald J. Eberly (ed.), *A Profile of National Service* (New York: Overseas Educational Service, [1966]), p. 3.

is erudition. Any activity whose service or learning component falls below 20 per cent would have to be considered marginal. For example, it would not be considered national service to lock up for two years an illiterate 18-year-old in a room full of programmed instruction tools through which he could learn to read and write. It would be national service if the same person spent his mornings partly in the programmed instruction room and partly being taught by a tutor doing his national service, his afternoons on a conservation or construction project at which he is more accomplished than his morning tutor, and his evenings in bull sessions or seminars on such topics as ecology, politics, sex, sociology, and urbanology. This example also illustrates that the learning experience can be formal or informal. In our example, the two persons might have service and learning components on this order:

	Tutor	*Tutee*
Service	70%	45%
Formal learning	5	45
Informal learning	25	10
	100%	100%

It is by no means suggested that these tasks should be offered only to young people. Clearly there is a role for older persons, possibly in some form of guaranteed employment program, and for retired persons, who have much to give. When we consider the energy and idealism of youth combined with their need for experience and service and human relationships, and the potential impact of this combined service and learning on the way people will live in succeeding generations, it becomes imperative to give first priority to service-learning experiences for young people.

Enough general talk. Where, precisely, will they serve? "Professional jealousy will keep them out of hospitals and welfare institutions; black neighborhoods won't accept white participants; church-related institutions won't join any program unless they can screen out all but their co-religionists," says the critic. Let's look at the specifics of the college youth service program in one city.

In Boston 5000 students at twenty-six colleges and universities give volunteer service of these descriptions:

Tutoring
Hospital work
Scouting
Bloodmobile
Big Brothers
Big Sisters
Adult Literacy
Work with mentally retarded children
Home visiting

Home improvement group in Roxbury
Camp counseling
Teaching in Africa
Prison project
Viet Nam orphans
Visitation of the aged
Reading for the blind
Physical therapy program
Psycho-drama at settlement house
Thanksgiving baskets
Christmas projects
Students for the barrio
Upward Bound program
Fill needs as they arise

They served at these institutions, among others:

Settlement Houses and Neighborhood Centers

Hebrew Rehabilitation Center for the Aged
John F. Kennedy Family Service Center
Dorchester Community Center
St. Stevens Church
Newton Community Center
Cambridge Neighborhood House
Cardinal Cushing Center
South End Neighborhood Action Program
North End Settlement House
Spanish Action Center

General and Mental Hospitals

Metropolitan State Hospital
Somerville Guidance Center
Cambridge Mental Health Center
Massachusetts General
Red Cross Blood Bank
Children's Hospital
Holy Ghost Hospital

Housing Projects

Columbia Point Housing Project
Roosevelt Towers
Waltham Housing Project
Lowell Housing Project

Prisons and Reform Schools

Massachusetts Correctional Institution, Framingham
Deer Island House of Correction
Dedham House of Correction
Lyman Reformatory

The Issue of Compulsion

The foregoing paragraphs suggest the importance of a large-scale program of youth service. A compulsory program would guarantee the involvement of millions of youth each year attacking poverty, ignorance, and disease; it would prevent it from becoming an elitist program like the Peace Corps (97 per cent of Peace Corps Volunteers have attended college) or a poverty program like the Job Corps (only children of poverty families are allowed to join); and it would remove the inequities of a system in which some serve and others do not. Against these arguments have to be weighed the traditional case of the civil libertarian that any form of compulsion is an infringement on the freedom of an individual. My problem with that argument is largely personal: I was compelled to enter the Army but I came out with the feeling of greater freedom than when I entered. I am not referring to the fact that I was free from the

draft; rather, the range of acquaintances, experiences, and travel enabled me to emerge with a much clearer idea of who I was and where I wanted to go. Not every veteran will agree with my conclusion, but it reminds us of the possibility that some of those who are required to serve may emerge with greatly enriched feelings of personal freedom.

My major problem with compulsory service is that it would tend to lessen the quality of service performed and the value of the service experience to the individual. In any area of compulsion—education, insurance, military—one can observe elements of de-personalization and unwillingness to accept responsibility above the minimum required. These characteristics are so antithetical to the national service concept as to argue against any program that would engender them.

The most telling argument against a compulsory program, and again this is a personal judgment, is that it would be superfluous. I believe that a properly conceived, properly run, service program of the kind outlined below will attract millions of young men and women to the areas of society's great needs. It will not be necessary to create the elaborate machinery needed for a compulsory program nor to run the risks of establishing a program that might defeat its own purpose.

An Outline for National Service

The only compulsory part of what appears to me to be the right kind of national service lies in the area of information. By the time he is 18, every American—male and female—would be informed of his opportunities to serve. He would be told of the needs in the Armed Forces, the schools, the ghetto health centers, the homes for retarded children, the forests, the new towns, and in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He would be told that there is no financial barrier to service. He would be told that the mental and physical standards have been broadened to accept 2/3 of the youth rejected by the military. He would be told of the training facilities that would acquaint him further with actual openings and prepare him for a period of service. He would be told that the nation recognizes the importance of his service by guaranteeing him financial support for further education and, in the instance of men, awarding him points that would have the effect of reducing his vulnerability to the military draft.

The last proposal tends to elicit charges that it would encourage draft-dodging. The question then becomes, for those who really want to serve their country as constructively as possible, how can procedures be

established so they are not joined by hordes of draft dodgers with little interest in constructive service?

The best way seems to be by means of a contractual obligation, voluntarily entered into. Thus at age 18, six months before he is subject to conscription, a young man could commit himself to a period of full-time service, say two years, before reaching his 26th birthday. Because he would have made the choice prior to the period of draft vulnerability, people would have little basis for accusing him of being a draft dodger and he could plan his next few years of service, education, work, and matrimony with relative confidence.

Similarly, the 18-year-old could opt for a two-year period of military service within the ensuing seven years and could plan accordingly.

In neither instance would the registrant who had committed himself to service be exempt from the draft. His name would simply be placed toward the end of the order of call, just ahead of those who had completed military or non-military service. Hence the size of the draft pool would not be changed at all.

Because of need and to facilitate advance planning of resources, young women would also be encouraged to register at age 18, or later, and contract for a period of national service.

Such a contractual plan would have the effect of making the service obligation far more equitable. In a period of relative tranquility and low draft calls, a young man who felt little responsibility to serve would presumably enter no contracts and hope to escape the draft. If a subsequent military flare-up and high draft calls resulted in his induction he would have little cause to gripe.

Some would say the system described above is a form of compulsion. I consider it more accurate to list it among the various pressures, incentives, and deterrents that surround us daily. The length of a man's hair or a woman's dress; one's manner of speech; one's attendance at church, movies, and football games; one's enrollment at a particular college—decisions on these matters are not made in a vacuum. They are made in the context of society generally and in relationship to particular friends and relatives. Giving another option to the 18-year-old would give him greater freedom of choice. Higher education, a job for the sake of a job, marriage, military service would not be the only major choices open to the nation's youth. National service would give him a chance, if he wishes to accept it, to serve his fellow man and to learn while serving.

Once the compulsory-voluntary question has been resolved, there are several other important issues and potential danger spots. What's to keep

the federal government from taking over national service and turning it into a nation-wide propaganda instrument? What happens to national service when military needs can be met without the draft?

The answers to both these questions point to the need for a program with a minimum of central control and to one independent of the draft system. The creation of a National Foundation for Volunteer Service, funded by federal, state, local, and private funds and directed by a board comprising a majority of private citizens and a minority of government officials is the first step. The second step is to establish the criteria for approval of participants and of sponsoring agencies. All non-profit agencies, whether public or private, would be eligible to apply. Primarily this means schools, hospitals, churches, conservation units, voluntary agencies, and municipal government agencies. The third step is to establish an underwriting mechanism so that no person wanting to serve, and no agency in need of someone, would be denied. Then come arrangements for training, medical care, contracts, placement, evaluation, grievances, and so on.

A 1966 analysis[6] of the need for national service participants in the fields of health, education, community service, and conservation suggests that it is of an order comparable with the resources available. Briefly, the report shows an overall need for 4-5 million persons, most of whom could be young men and women in national service, and a "reservoir" of some 3.5 million persons turning 18 each year, of whom military needs are expected to require less than 25 per cent. The report estimates annual costs per participant at about $4000 per year.

Conclusion

Few adults are well satisfied with the kind of world their children are in the process of inheriting. By providing young men and women with opportunities to serve and to learn through meaningful human relationships, a program of national service might provide today's youth with a chance to discover whether they can in fact so direct themselves as to leave the world a more free and peaceful world than that which they were born into.

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6 Donald J. Eberly, *National Service* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), Appendix A.

CURRENT History

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Moving toward the 1970's, how can the United States best meet its needs for defense and social welfare? In the last of our three issues on these questions, seven articles evaluate the nation's needs and the choices it faces. Setting these problems in perspective, our introductory author advocates "A properly organized and administered program of national service. . . ."

National Needs and National Service

By Donald J. Eberly
Executive Director, National Service Secretariat

Only a few decades ago the average American spent most of his time producing or earning money to buy his basic needs for food, clothing and shelter. With the law of supply and demand operating to fill these needs, the economic system was in balance.

In the second half of the Twentieth Century, with increases in productivity and the large-scale introduction of automation, a far smaller share of the national effort is required to meet the basic needs of survival. Americans have established within the borders of the United States a society in which life—the first of the unalienable rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence—is fairly well assured. What Americans seek now are liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all. Operationally, these goals translate into such elements as education, good health, clean air and water, personal safety, meaningful occupations and enjoyable leisure-time activities.

Yet somehow the "law" of supply and demand for social services is not being obeyed. Millions of five- and six-year-old children are going to school eager to learn and to become personally involved with someone they can respect, but before long many of them come to feel regarded more as numbers than persons. Because of the inadequacy of medical care available in the cities' ghettos and in rural areas, the United States has fallen to seventeenth place in infant mortality rates. Clearly, millions of willing hands and hearts and minds are needed and millions could become available. Society's demand and supply equation *could be* balanced, if some national service program were developed to enlist the nation's youth.

Such a program of national service has been defined as giving an opportunity to "each young person to serve his country in a manner consistent with the needs of the nation—recognizing national defense as the first priority—and consistent with the education and interests of those participating, without infringing on the personal or economic welfare of others but contributing to the liberty and well-being of all."[1] As such, the concept of national service would embrace both military and nonmilitary service—although some advocates would administer nonmilitary ac-

[1] Donald J. Eberly (ed.), *A Profile of National Service* (Washington, D.C.: National Service Secretariat, 1966), p. 3.

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tivities separately from the military while others would link them in various ways. Some advocates urge compulsory national service for all; some support compulsory service for all young men; some believe that a national service program should be voluntary.

Much has been written about the qualitative aspects of a national service program: its value as an instrument to accomplish needed tasks in such fields as health, education and conservation; its value as experiential education for national service participants; its contribution to the social awareness, choice of career decisions and perspectives on life for each person who serves; and its potential for fulfilling the individual's sense of responsibility to serve his country and his fellow man. (These aspects will be discussed in the articles that follow.)

Less attention has been paid to the quantitative aspects of national service. How many real jobs can be identified? There would be little residual value in a national service program that consisted largely of make-work assignments. Given a sufficient demand for young people to serve, how many would be participating at any one time in a program of compulsory service? Of voluntary service? How should we go about organizing national service? And finally, how much would it cost?

In order to set the dimensions of national service into context, we shall first examine the pertinent facts about major federally funded service-learning programs.

There is not enough room to describe all the programs that might be expected to receive national service participants. (See Table II.) Among the federal programs omitted from Table II are the Manpower Development Training Program, the Teacher Corps, the Head Start program, and Upward Bound. Even more important to consideration of national service are the hundreds of thousands of voluntary agencies, churches, schools, hospitals, libraries, conservation units and municipal governments that could receive and use national service participants.

When the Peace Corps was proposed in 1960 by Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and John F. Kennedy, both recommended it as a three-year program that would classify its participants as fulfilling peacetime military obligations. The Peace Corps now operates in 57 nations and offers excellent opportunities for service, informal learning and cross-cultural experiences. There is no statutory military deferment or exemption for Peace Corps volunteers. In practice, a few of the nation's 4,000 draft boards conscript volunteers while in overseas Peace Corps service; most boards defer volunteers in service; and some of them never draft returned Peace Corps men.

The Job Corps stresses formal learning. Cross-cultural experiences are few, since enrollment is limited to the financially and educationally poor. The Job Corps Conservation Centers have a formal service dimension and have performed some $32,000,000 worth of conservation work since the Corps began. Participants at all centers also give volunteer service to neighboring communities.

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), often called the domestic Peace Corps, stresses service, cross-cultural living and informal learning in reference to formal education. VISTA had its origin in a study initiated in 1962 by President John F. Kennedy, "Information on a Proposed National Service Program."

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is primarily a work-experience program. It has a small element of formal education and little opportunity for cross-cultural enrichment because its participants live at home.

The College Work-Study Program is designed to help needy students attend college. By definition, then, it has a strong element of formal education and offers opportunity for —though no guarantee of—cross-cultural experiences. From the national service viewpoint, its major drawback is that it gives no encouragement to service activities like tutoring slum children in preference to jobs like washing dishes in the college cafeteria.

Before getting into statistics on new program possibilities, a distinction must be drawn between job openings and national needs. An ordinary survey of schools, hospitals and

social service agencies would reveal few actual openings that could be filled by young people in a program of national service. Such agencies have fallen into the habit of understating their real needs because decades of experience have taught them that the persons who allocate budgets allow only for the most critical requirements. Thus, school administrators ask for enough funds to supply one teacher for every 25 to 30 pupils although it is generally recognized that in many teaching situations a ratio of one teacher for every 10 to 15 pupils might be far more effective.

In order to measure real needs, a new approach to jobs and needs was followed by a presidential commission in 1965 and its survey revealed a need for an additional 5,300,000 persons in socially-useful jobs which could be filled by persons with a minimum of preentry skill and training. The commission estimated a new job potential of 1,100,000 in education, 1,200,000 in health, 1,300,000 in beautification, 700,000 in welfare and home care, 350,000 in public protection and 650,000 in urban renewal and sanitation.[2]

In making this kind of survey, it is critically important to pay close attention to job definitions. As a rule, a teacher's job has been regarded as so complex and demanding as to require a master's degree. Yet, when a teacher's daily routine is examined, it is clear that while a few activities require a master's degree, other tasks can be performed very well by a person with a junior college background; some tasks can be performed as well by a high school graduate, and a few can be performed even by a high school student.

In fact, sometimes several lesser qualified persons can handle a task more effectively than the teacher. Much of a teacher's time is directed to the learning needs of one individual at a time in a class of some 30 students. The time of the remaining 29 students is often wasted. If there were more teacher's aides or tutors to work occasionally with groups of three or four and sometimes with only one, the teaching process would be more efficient and children would get a better education.

Comparable analyses can be made in such fields as health, conservation, and urban renewal.

The President's commission survey showing that 5 million additional persons are needed to undertake socially-useful work is misleading if one is seeking the number of positions that could be filled tomorrow or the day after. The survey assumes that every school superintendent, every principal and most teachers would welcome teacher's aides, would establish the conditions under which they would serve, and would provide for such matters as training, supervision, office space and housing. The same holds true for hospital directors, conservation officials, local government leaders, and so on. Hence, the survey is a useful indicator of the socially-desirable and useful jobs that could be available, with planning, in five to ten years. How many such jobs are available now? What are the nation's available human resources for a program of national service?

In late 1966, two surveys were made to estimate the number of participants in a national service program that could be placed within a few months. With the help of the District of Columbia Health and Welfare Council, the National Service Secretariat found openings for some 1300 national service participants in the Washington, D.C., area.[3] The National League of Cities surveyed Atlanta, Dayton, Detroit, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix and Tacoma and identified openings for some 12,000 participants.[4] Making allowance for only partial returns in both surveys, each survey found that for every 1,000 people, one national service participant could be placed in a useful service activity within a few months. Applied nation-wide, the two surveys suggest an immediate potential of 200,000 positions.

[2] Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress. *Technology and the American Economy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February, 1966), Volume I, p. 36.

[3] Donald J. Eberly (ed.), *National Service* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), Appendix A.

[4] *Ibid.*, Appendix B.

WHAT ARE THE HUMAN RESOURCES?

The number of American citizens presently 18 years of age is about 3,500,000, equally divided between male and female. Barring major catastrophes, that number will increase gradually until 1976, when it will begin to level off for the next several years at about 4,300,000. In 1966, the Defense Department reported that the percentage of men age 26 needed for service would decrease gradually due to the expanding population base, and would fall from 46 per cent in 1966 to 42 per cent in 1974, assuming a troop strength of 3,000,000.[5] The number of women in the armed forces is presently 1 per cent of the total and, in spite of planned increases in some branches, is not expected to exceed 2 per cent in the foreseeable future.

Accepting these figures and projections, approximately 750,000 of today's 18-year-old men (1976's 26-year-olds) will be needed by the armed forces. They would still be eligible to undertake nonmilitary service thereafter, but probably few would do so if they had already given a period of service to their country. Generous discharge benefits and definitely formulated plans for marriage, career and higher education would also dissuade many veterans from joining a national service program.

That leaves us with 1,000,000 18-year-old men and 1,750,000 18-year-old women. (As indicated earlier, about 10 per cent of each total group would be expected to fail physical or mental tests.) It is hard to know how to treat the statistic that 26 per cent of women aged 18–19 are married, widowed, divorced or separated, since the prospect of a period of national service could have the effect of delaying marriage for young women who wanted to get involved with the outside world before starting to raise a family. On the other hand, married women could enter national service if they served with their husbands and had no children. For the moment let us assume that, for reasons of marriage and childbirth, 26 per cent of the women would not enter national service.

There are two more major factors affecting the entry of women into a national service program. As they would presumably not be subject to the draft, they would not have to choose between the forms of service. On the other hand, surveys suggest that women are more inclined toward the kinds of activities included in national service. A 1966 Gallup survey asked how many college students had an interest in working in the VISTA program. Seventy-one per cent of the women said "yes" compared to 41 per cent of the men.[6] If 71 per cent of the eligible women volunteered for national service, that would be 800,000, just over half the total of 1,750,000. Similarly, 41 per cent of all 18-year old men would total about 700,000.

It follows from the above figures that a large-scale voluntary national service program, after the initial build-up period, could be expected to attract up to 1,500,000 persons in the 18-year-old group, or 43 per cent of the youthful population. If they served for two years, the total participation at any one time could be about 3,000,000. By 1976, the participation level might rise to about 3,700,000.[7]

[5] Statement of Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) before the House Committee on Armed Services. *Report on Department of Defense Study of the Draft*, June 30, 1966, p. 5. (Also p. 9926 of House Committee on Armed Services documents for 89th Congress.)

[6] The Gallup Organization, Inc., *Attitudes of College Students Toward VISTA* (Princeton: Gallup, 1967), p. 9.

[7] In comparison with the plans for a voluntary program, a compulsory service program for all youth, exempting only that 10 per cent physically or mentally unqualified, would have an appropriate current enrollment of 18-year olds as follows:

	Male	Female
Military service	750,000	15,000
Nonmilitary service	825,000	1,560,000
Total	1,575,000	1,575,000

Thus, the number of persons in nonmilitary service under a compulsory program would total some 2,385,000. Assuming a two-year enlistment, the total participation in nonmilitary service would then approximate 5 million as compared with about 3 million under a large-scale program of voluntary national service. Hence, the number of persons available to tackle civilian service activities is of the same order of magnitude as the needs of society. For further discussion of compulsory service see articles by Margaret Mead and Edward Hall in this issue.

A NATIONAL SERVICE MODEL

A voluntary national service program could be subsidized by a National Service Foundation that would underwrite subsistence allowances for up to three years for young people serving in approved activities. These activities would be primarily in the fields of education, health and conservation and would be approved by an advisory board composed of public officials and private citizens. Among the activities that would be approved by the board are work within certain federal programs, such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and Job Corps Conservation Centers, and state programs like the Commonwealth Service Corps in Massachusetts.

Municipal service in local schools, libraries, hospitals or the departments of sanitation and public health, and work with voluntary nonprofit organizations such as the Red Cross, Girl Scouts and YMCA would all qualify as national service activities. Church-sponsored projects would receive approval so long as participants served their fellow man without proselytizing him.

In this model, national service participants would be between the ages of 18 and 24, inclusive. The main entry standard would be willingness to serve. Minimum mental and health standards would have to be met, but they would be lower than those of the Armed Forces, which reject three out of every 10 young men. The rejection rate in this type of voluntary national service program would be one in 10.

Under this plan, entry into national service would not be forced; it would be accomplished by means of a contract between the young person and the foundation. The participant would agree to serve for a minimum of one year. He might, if he wished, sign up only on condition that he work in a certain field, such as tutoring or mental health. But if he insisted on specifying the place where he would serve and the agency that would supervise him, it is less likely that the foundation would accept him.

For its part, the foundation would be responsible for informing the participant about types of openings, training and testing him and finally assigning him to an appropriate service activity. The foundation would provide needed transportation, clothing, medical care and a subsistence allowance. The agency to whom the participant would report would be responsible for proper housing, on-the-job training and supervision, while the foundation would make periodic checks to ensure that both the agency and the participant were living up to their contractual responsibilities.

For each year of completed service, the participant would become entitled to two years of further education. For example, a high school graduate who went into national service for three years would be entitled to six years of college or university education. No one receiving support from the foundation would be exempt from military service.

HOW MUCH WOULD IT COST?

The National Service Secretariat has estimated the annual expenditures for each national service participant at $4,000. (See Table I). The purpose of the allowance is to make it financially possible for all young people to participate in national service. Thus, in setting allowances, the foundation would take into account the cost of living locally—including whether housing and food were being provided by local hospitality—and the recommendations of the sponsoring agency.

In order to encourage local initiative and minimize federal control, foundation support would be limited to underwriting. Some agencies would assume full fiscal responsibility for the national service participant and would utilize the foundation resources only to find participants and to provide basic training.

Others would share financial responsibility with the foundation. Agencies that were too poor to pay allowances would be asked to provide housing or some other assistance as an earnest of their participation in national service.

Like the GI Bill of Rights, national service in the long run should be viewed more as an investment than an expense. Because of

participation in national service, some young people would be off the relief rolls or out of jail, not only during their participation in national service but, because of their experiences, for a full lifetime. Others would become inspired to continue their formal education and become more productive members of the economy. These gains would be measurable in terms of dollars and cents and would supplement the intangible rewards of making more interesting career choices and of helping someone in need.

A CRASH PROGRAM OR A FIRM FOUNDATION?

The earlier a national service program were instituted, the easier it would be to build it gradually on a firm foundation, avoiding the pitfalls of a crash program. Of course, a crash program could be instituted, like President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, established in 1933. Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4 of that year, the C.C.C. Bill became law on March 31 and three months later there were 274,375 young men enrolled in C.C.C. camps.[8] Although the C.C.C. was one of the most popular New Deal programs, it suffered from lack of diversity and never developed a strong educational dimension.

In 1966, the National Service Secretariat recommended to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service that national service take effect in 1967 and build up to an enrollment of half a million by 1970, in these steps:[9]

1968	50,000
1969	160,000
1970	500,000

Regardless of the year it started this three-year period would be a time of growth and experimentation. Schools, health units, conservation agencies, municipal governments and voluntary agencies could be expected to sponsor the great majority of service activities. There would be room, however, for individual projects, where the project formulator and sponsoring agency would be none other than the national service participant. Various types of links would be established with national service programs in Chile, Iran, Israel, the Philippines, Tanzania, and other countries.[10]

While the operation and effectiveness of national service would be under continual review, the end of the third year would be an appropriate time for a major reappraisal. By then, the first participants would have completed their service period and there would be data on the number and kinds of young people volunteering for service, the kind and amount of service that is really needed and can be accomplished by young people, the kinds of decisions made by participants on career choices and higher education, and the effect of the program on race relations.

At a yearly cost for 500,000 participants of $2 billion, or about one per cent of the annual federal budget, it would then be possible to cut back on the program, to keep it at its existing level or to continue to increase it without major strains on the economy or the social system.

TABLE I

National Foundation for Volunteer Service
Estimated Unit Costs Per Annum

Average cost of volunteer assigned to approved project	
Subsistence allowance ($3/day rural; $8/day urban; average $6/day)	$2,190
End of tour adjustment allowance ($75/month for 12 months)	900
Medical expenses and insurance	170
Transportation	180
Special clothing (range: $0–$100; average $50)	50
Administration (not including administrative costs of sponsoring agency) 15 per cent of total volunteer costs	510
TOTAL	$4,000

If a large-scale national service program goes into effect, its organization must be such as to ensure its integrity as truly representing the national service concept. A highly centralized operation is needed to run an

[8] John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), pp. 23 and 45.

[9] Donald J. Eberly (ed.), *National Service*, Appendix A.

[10] See Terrence Cullinan's article on pp. 97ff. of this issue.

TABLE II

Comparison of National Service Program after Three Years with Selected Present Federal Service—Learning Programs

	Peace Corps	Job Corps	VISTA	Neighborhood Youth Corps	College Work-Study Programs	Combined Totals	National Service (1971)
Budget (fiscal '68) In millions	$107.5	$285	$30	$269.5	$134	$826	$2,000
Beginning Year	1961	1964	1964	1964	1965	—	1968
# Participants ('68 est.)	13,920	35,225	5,000	362,000	300,000	716,145	500,000
Full-time: projected*	13,000	37,000	10,000	120,000	70,000	250,000	500,000
Proportion fem.	35%	27%	51%	50%	58%	48%	53%
Age range	18 up	16–21	18 up	14 up	no limits	—	18–24
Age range majority	20–30	16–21	18–24	14–21	18–24	—	18–24
Education some coll.	96%	—	78%	—	100%	—	40%
H.S. grads	4%	1%	19%	—	—	—	30%
H.S. incomp.	—	99%	3%	100%	—	—	30%
Intensity	full time	full time	full time**	part time	part time	—	full time
Duration	2 yrs	6½ mo.	1–3 yrs	no limit	no limit	—	1–3 yrs

* Estimates were made by the author to provide a basis of comparison between current programs and a national service program.

** In addition to 5,000 full-time volunteers serving for at least one year, the VISTA budget provides for 1,500 Summer Associates serving full time for 10 weeks and some 40,000 members of the VISTA Citizens Corps serving without remuneration.

army or internal revenue service but would tend to erode the purpose and spirit of national service. Such an organization, for example, could too easily become a tool of government propaganda. In some respects the situation parallels that of public television and calls for a public funding agency relatively independent of the federal government.

The main drawback to a decentralized administration for national service is that it would take time and patience to establish.

Just as vital to the national service concept as decentralization is its independence of the Selective Service System. For if a national service program were dependent for its existence on the military draft and if in time there were no longer a need for the draft,[11] it would mean the end of national service, or an unneeded conscription.

A properly organized and administered program of national service would help to balance the equation between society's needs and resources; it would help to reshape American education into something more relevant to the future; it would be a realistic example of how to turn swords into plowshares. And, if Albert Schweitzer's observation that "the only ones among you who will be really happy are those who have sought and found how to serve" is true, national service could become the essence of our third national goal, the pursuit of happiness.

[11] The Defense Department estimated in 1966 (Statement of Thomas Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 14) that the draft would not be needed if no more than two million persons were needed in the armed forces, assuming a 4 per cent unemployment rate.

Donald J. Eberly has been a teacher and educational administrator in Nigeria, Turkey and the United States and is the editor of *National Service* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968).

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SELECTIVE SERVICE AND MILITARY COMPENSATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

S. 392, S. 427, S. 483, S.J. Res. 20—Selective Service
S. 494, S. 495, S. 496—Military Compensation

FEBRUARY 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 19, AND 22, 1971

Printed for the use of the Committee on Armed Services

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(II)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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STATEMENT OF DONALD J. EBERLY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

In the purest form of national service, both the military and civilian components would be manned solely by volunteers. They would be young men and women so motivated to serve that they would not require a financial incentive to enlist. Further, they would volunteer in such numbers that conscription would be required neither to man our defenses nor to meet our most pressing civilian needs.

For only a few months in the past 30 years have world conditions and voluntary enlistments combined to obviate draft calls. But at no time in those 30 years have we as a nation permitted our military manpower resources to fall below what has been required to maintain our sovereignty. In contrast, at no time in those 30 years have we recruited the manpower needed to confront, on the scale required, our problems in such fields as health, education, the environment, and the delivery of municipal services.

It is this imbalance that causes many people to wonder whether we should not call upon the same instrument that has maintained our sovereignty to attack our domestic problems. Perhaps that time will come as it has already come to Israel, where universal service for both young men and women is a way of life.

Others of us believe that those young people who serve in a civilian capacity should have a status equivalent to those who serve in a military capacity.

And still others believe that, as serious as our domestic problems are today, the attack on such problems by young people should warrant no relationship to military service.

Because the question of equivalency between civilian and military service inevitably will arise from consideration of such bills as the National Service Act (H.R. 1000) submitted by Congressman Bingham, I should like to put this relationship into perspective.

The United States is one of many countries which have established a system of military conscription as a means of maintaining its sovereignty. Until that distant day arrives when the people of the United States and all other countries devise a partnership which permits the sharing of national sovereignty, I believe that we, as Americans, will insist upon maintaining military manpower at whatever level is required to continue this sovereignty. Hence, I believe that whenever a threat to our national sovereignty demands an increase in our military manpower beyond the level attainable by volunteers, we shall institute the draft.

As for an administration which initiates military adventures which are primarily dependent upon draftees for combat soldiers, and which are considered by many of our compatriots not to be essential to our sovereignty, I agree with those proponents of a volunteer military force who assert that elimination of the draft would tend to avert such adventures. Possibly American involvement in Vietnam would have been avoided, or greatly lessened, if the armed forces of the '60's had been composed only of volunteers. But let us not forget that a highly elastic military force is not the only means by which a President can lead the nation into war. He can drop a nuclear bomb. He can send in the Marines. He can subject a foreign port to naval bombardment. There are a variety of options open to a President that may lead other nations to attack the United States. And when that happens, our sovereignty will be threatened and total mobilization will become almost inevitable.

Thus, I believe it is a mistake to think that establishment of an all-volunteer armed force will, of itself, eliminate the draft. And I think it is equally in error to think that having a volunteer military will, of itself, end war. I realize that the major proponents of an all-volunteer military do not make these claims: rather, they say, the draft can be re-instituted only by act of Congress and that war will be deterred, not eliminated. Yet it is my impression that many people, especially young people, so much want the draft to stop and war to end that they do believe that having a military force composed solely of volunteers will end these two evils.

After Word War I, some of our compatriots felt that we could stay out of war by being isolated from the rest of the world, or by affixing our signature to a few pieces of paper. They were wrong, for they mistook the hope of peace and the appearance of peace for the conditions of peace.

Our neglect of the conditions of peace in the '20s and '30s led us into the most devastating war in history. We owe it to the coming generations not to confuse the facade of peace with the conditions of peace. A conscript armed force, as Switzerland has demonstrated, does not lead automatically to war. An all-

volunteer military force, as we had throughout the '30s, does not lead automatically to peace.

From where I stand, I cannot discern whether the chances for peace would be enhanced more by a volunteer military or a drafted military. What I can see however, is that the difference between these forms of military manpower recruitment becomes trivial when compared with the nature of our response to domestic needs. Not only peace with other nations, but life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness here at home will depend far less on whether we have a draft or a volunteer military than on the magnitude, speed and quality of the mobilization of young people to meet these needs.

Let me say straightaway that to effect this mobilization, we do not have to draft young men and women for civilian duties. They have made sufficiently clear in every theoretical way their willingness to serve. Now we must put this willingness to the test, first in a few national service pilot projects, then in a nationwide program in which all who wish to serve may do so.

I am not wise enough to know the exact conditions for a successful national service. But I do know the potential of a national service program, as follows:

It is the accomplishment of millions of needed tasks in education, health, the environment and a wide array of other public services.

It is the opportunity for millions of young people, through the experience of dignified and congenial work, to effect successfully the leap from adolescence to adulthood.

It is the first chance that millions of young people will have for the spiritual enrichment that comes from the need to be needed.

It is the occasion when those young people who feel a responsibility to make manifest their appreciation of their heritage, may demonstrate their gratitude.

It is an experience that will transform many of the participants from being "receivers" to being "givers," that will develop civic-minded citizens, possibly of more diversity than before, but certainly with greater awareness and concern.

It is a concept that will transform our educational institutions, for the educational value of a service experience will soon become recognized and adapted for students from grade school through graduate school.

I shall not go into the details and implications of a national service program at this time. For these are subjects to cover before such committees as those dealing with education, health, the environment, and urban development. I should simply like to include for the record a recent statement on national volunteer service endorsed by people with a wide range of interests, including two of your colleagues in the Senate.

National Needs: National Service

[Reprinted with permission of *The Retired Officer.*]

by Donald J. Eberly

SINCE THE UNITED STATES was established in 1776, we Americans have viewed threats to our sovereignty as coming primarily from external sources. We have successfully countered such threats through a combination of diplomatic measures, from the Monroe Doctrine to the Nixon Doctrine, and of military forces, from General Washington's Continental Line to the Green Berets.

There have also been internal threats to our continued existence as a nation. Through the democratic process, these threats, generally of an economic or social nature, have been prevented from wrecking the nation. Whether national or local in scope, whether requiring legislative action by public bodies or negotiation between private agencies, such as labor and management, we have, with one exception, contained internal threats to our sovereignty without resort to massive armed conflict. That exception, the Civil War, resulted from intense economic and social differences which closely coincided with relatively evenly balanced sections of the country.

Only historians will be able to say how great were the threats—both external and internal—to the United States in the 1970's. Certainly there is some degree of threat from external sources. But with the Nixon Doctrine, an early-warning network, the deterrence of massive nuclear capability, and an armed force of more than two and a half million men, it would appear to this observer that we are just about as well prepared to deal with external aggression as we could be.

Not so with internal threats to our existence. Some observers have compared today's internal strains to those in existence just before the Civil War broke out.

And for those who think "it can't happen here," and perhaps for the last time, it is sobering to ponder historian Arnold Toynbee's finding that 19 of 21 civilizations have died from within and only two have been conquered from without.

This is not the place to itemize all the manifestations of the cancer that is eating away at the United States. Certainly we are all aware of the generation gap and the enormous needs that exist. Working mothers need day-care centers, children in crowded schools need individual tutors, old folks in the ghettos need follow-through health care, our environment needs to be returned to a state of dynamic health.

If we were to tackle these two areas—the generation gap and certain needs that exist—with the dedication and resources given to maintaining an adequate defense we might be able to cut back the cancer systematically.

The route to follow was suggested by President Nixon's speech of January 14, 1971. He said that "the challenges of peace are as great as the challenges of war and as difficult to meet. There needs to be something more than the mere absence of war in life. Young people need something positive to respond to, some high enterprise in which they can test themselves, fulfill themselves."

Then the President went on to identify the problems that might challenge young people: problems of the environment, of cities, of education, of health, of poverty. To enable young people to meet such challenges, the President said "One thing government must do is to find ways of enlisting the dedication and idealism of those young Americans who want to serve their fellow man. . . . I believe that government has a responsibility to ensure that the idealism and willingness to contribute of our dedicated young people be put to constructive use."

To implement the President's program requires a system of voluntary national service, a subject on which this writer has been conducting research for the past 20 years. Voluntary national service would provide the country with a million or more willing and able young people to attack the problems identified by the President. They would be limited in number only by the number of meaningful tasks, their

competence to perform them, the availability of trainers and supervisors and the provision that participants would not in any way substitute for regular employees.

To enter such a program of national service, a young person would first receive information on military service and civilian service. Then he or she would be given a chance to answer the question "How can I best serve my country?" Some would choose military service, others civilian. Some would opt for neither, preferring instead to go to college, get married, take a job, travel and so on.

The young men who choose neither military nor civilian service would have prime liability for the military draft. Of course, if only a standby draft was in effect, as it would be with an all-volunteer armed force, this provision would be of little consequence. And in a national emergency, even those in civilian service would be liable to be drafted for military service.

Although it would seem natural at first glance for supporters of national service to favor continuation of the draft, since a number of those entering civilian service would be draft-induced volunteers, the opposite is true. For the person who chooses civilian service merely to avoid military service could not be expected to perform to the best of his ability. Some would find themselves in positions that would bring out the best in them nonetheless, but others would be reluctant participants for the full term of service.

In contrast, those entering civilian service at a time of zero-draft calls would be true volunteers. Their performance would reflect this fact.

However, it seems unlikely that we shall achieve an all-volunteer military until we develop a program of voluntary national service. For young people want to become engaged in solving their nation's—our nation's—problems, but they also want more evidence than they have now that the government feels strongly about tackling these problems.

The magnitude of national volunteer service would be one of the two major differences between it and VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) sometimes referred to as the domestic Peace Corps. The VISTA program has been so dilute, only 5,000 participants

nationwide (that would be equivalent to have fought World War II with 30,000 men instead of 12 million), that it has affected only a tiny fraction of persons needing help.

This weakness leads to the second major distinction: VISTA has been reform-oriented whereas national service would be service-oriented. The frustrations of trying to cope with huge problems or inadequate resources have led many VISTA Volunteers to try to achieve reform through direct confrontation with government officials. A VISTA Volunteer sees a need for day-care centers, tries to organize them, fails to do so and spends the rest of his time trying to change the government so it will be more responsive to local needs, such as day-care centers. A national service program, on the other hand, would have provided enough well-trained young people to staff all the day-care centers needed. Thus, that particular community change would have been wrought through service of sufficient magnitude rather than through confrontation.

If the government were to encourage young people to volunteer for civilian service as they encourage them to volunteer for military service and if the government were to back up this exhortation with training programs and subsistence pay, we could have the advantages of a volunteer military force without the disadvantages of a mercenary force. And we would launch an attack on our domestic cancer of sufficient magnitude to turn the tide of its continuing growth. The front-line troops in this attack would be young people, the very ones whose decisions on domestic problems in coming years will be crucial to the life of our nation, and to the lives of our grandchildren. Nobody today knows what those decisions will be or even should be, but I don't see how they can help but make better decisions if significant numbers of them have front-line experience with the problems. ★★★

Donald J. Eberly is the executive director of the National Service Secretariat, the purpose of which is to stimulate and facilitate discussion on National service. As such, it provides information to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service.

National Service: A New Option

by Donald J. Eberly

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The good society is frequently described as one that permits the individual a broad array of options. What are your options as you prepare to leave high school? If you are a young man, there are few alternatives outside college and the armed forces. If you are a young woman, your choices are pretty much limited to college, marriage, and secretarial work.

For those of you who are perfectly satisfied with one of these choices, fine. The society is working for you. But there is unmistakable evidence that it is not working for all young people. For example:

- Recently one quarter of the Harvard sophomore class wanted to get away from college for at least a year, but felt that that option was closed to them because it would probably mean being drafted.
- In October, 1968, one out of five black young men and women (ages 16-21) who were seeking jobs were not able to find them.
- Accurate figures are not available, but a substantial number (probably 10-30,000) of young men have gone to Canada to escape the draft.

Obviously the options open to many young people are unsatisfactory. The draft impels some young people to choose college or Canada over the Peace Corps or VISTA. The "establishment" forces others to accept welfare checks instead of taking positions helping to teach children to read and write.

Now, let's create just one more option and see what its effects might be. Let's say that you and each young person can contract for a period of one to three years for a position in which you will help others, gain experience in a field that interests you, learn subject matter, and develop judgment in such areas as human relations.

This new option does not mean that you will be paid to "do your own thing." *That* privilege is reserved for the elders in society, who presumably have made their contribution and receive money from Social Security to do what they wish, no questions asked. But if your "thing" coincides with the above criteria, you will of course be able to do it.

Nor, if you choose the new option, will you be permitted to meander in and out. You will be assumed to be an adult, not a child. You will receive full information about the different kinds of activities open to you but once your decision is made, you will be asked to sign a binding contract, with the obligations of all parties spelled out.

For your part, you will have to agree to perform certain duties, live in a certain area, be a prompt and willing worker, and to report periodically on your progress.

For its part, the sponsoring agency will have to assure that you receive adequate supervision to do your job properly, that your housing conditions are satisfactory, and that you are experiencing opportunities to learn.

Finally, the funding agency will have to assure that you receive stipends as promised and that you have adequate medical care.

How will this work in practice? Let's say that you are a young man with strong interests in automobiles but with no particular interest in studying automotive engineering in college or in

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driving trucks in Vietnam. Yet you want more adventure than is found working at the corner garage. After examining all possibilities, you may choose to contract for two years with the National Service Highway Safety Patrol Corps, a proposal currently being studied by the U. S. Department of Transportation.

Your basic responsibility is to drive a marked patrol car, five times a week, over 200 miles of the Inter-State Highway System. (You and your 25,000 Corps colleagues will assure that each point of the System will be covered every 20 minutes.) You will not carry a gun and you will have no power of arrest; simply being there in a marked car will deter speeders and reduce traffic fatalities and accidents. You will keep alert for accidents and give first aid (in which you have been trained) as appropriate. When fast evacuation is needed, you may have to radio your home unit for a helicopter.

To do this job, you will receive training in mechanics, first aid, radio use, and helicopter operation. You will probably live in a part of the country that you had not seen before, and you will serve with young men from all parts of the nation.

At the end of your two years, you will be in a better position to decide on your career and higher education. You will have achieved the self-confidence that comes from doing a steady job for two years, and the satisfaction of knowing that you served your country and your fellow man by helping to save a few lives.

On the other hand, if you are a young lady who likes to work with children, you may choose to serve full-time for a year in a Head Start program sponsored by a group of churches. After a brief training period, you will live in the same area as the children you are working with and will become acquainted with the parents and others in the community. You will receive free tuition for a course in childhood education at a nearby university. Even though all other members of the class will most likely be college graduates, the pertinence of your experience will mark you as one of the most valuable members of the class.

At the end of your one-year contract, you may decide to sign up for another year, enter college, or get married. The important thing is that your decision will be based on experience that was not there the year before and you will move ahead with confidence.

So far we have not mentioned the draft. Why not? It is, after all, such a powerful influence on the lives of young men.

First, it must be recognized that the draft is not an integral part of this new option we have just created. The draft is not needed to make it work, since the tasks we have described are those which need to be done and the young people we have described are the ones who would voluntarily come forward to do these jobs if the chance were there.

Second, if the new option were to become a part of the draft system, it would face the likelihood of extinction when and if the draft is eliminated or replaced; or, it might contribute to an unneeded extension of the draft.

Neither of these possibilities would truly reflect the rationale for the new option. They would be as far off the mark as making colleges and universities an integral part of the Selective Service System. Yet, just as provision is made for draft deferments for college students, the nation must decide upon a relationship between the new option and the draft, assuming that the latter remains in existence. What is to be the draft status of the Highway Safety Patrol member: draft-eligible, deferred, exempted, or what?

We don't have space here to include all the factors that must be examined. (See the last paragraph for references.) The size of the manpower pool (it's more than twice as big as the Pentagon thinks it will need), the need of the nation for certain public, non-military services not now being performed, the cost, all must figure in the equation.

The answer this observer has reached is that, for reasons of national security, the size of the military manpower reservoir should not be depleted. Hence, no one would be exempt from the draft. However, for reasons of national interest, we should give national recognition to those who serve in important non-military areas, since it can be expected that many persons in non-military programs would render as much or more service to their country than they would have given as draftees. Thus, assuming continuation of the present draft system, our Highway Safety Patrol Corps member, upon completion of two years of satisfactory service, would be placed toward the end of the order of call. He would not be drafted, for example, until after those with student or occupational deferments were called.

This new option, which this writer usually refers to as national service, would have meaning for most of the persons who feel that current options are too limited. The college sophomore who's had enough of the education lock-step can sign up for two years in the Peace Corps or the Highway Safety Corps without having to worry about being drafted for anything short of an all-out war. The black young man who can't find a job can join the Highway Safety Corps or the Conservation Corps for two years and return with the confidence born of a significant accomplishment. Never again will a prospective employer be able to accuse him of being unable to hold a job for more than six weeks. And the young lady who wants to work with children but not yet as a mother can become a tutor in Head Start for a year. If she follows the path suggested earlier, she may the next year become an instructor in a graduate school of education, a regular Head Start employer, or a college freshman.

While rather simple in conception, this new option is not simple in its implications for education, manpower development, or the society at large. Many of these implications are examined in a series of research papers and discussions in *National Service* (Donald J. Eberly, Editor, Russell Sage Foundation, Publisher, 230 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. $5.50. 1968. 600 pages). This book examines both the pros and cons of national service, describes how it works in other countries, and presents a detailed plan for its operation in the U. S.; it is a useful source book for a high school civics class studying national issues. For some 500 examples of agencies (both public and private, large and small) with which young people might serve, see *Directory of Service Organizations* (National Service Secretariat, 1629 K St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. $1.00. 1968. 50 pages.) ■

A National Service Pilot Project

Donald J. Eberly

"Overnight, you'll have a million kids on your hands, and it will be the biggest boondoggle in history." So goes one of the more eye-catching arguments against national service. What this criticism fails to consider, however, is that most serious proponents of national service advocate not a crash program but a transition period of three to five years to build up enrollment to a plateau of one to two million persons. The need at present centers on designing a true pilot project to test the feasibilities of a full-scale national service.

Experience with youth service programs over the past decade has permitted an acceleration of the recommended developmental period, but as yet there has been no true national service pilot project. The Peace Corps, VISTA, and the Teacher Corps are small programs (none enrolls as many as 10,000 participants), widely dispersed, and highly selective. The Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps are exclusive programs (participants must be educationally and financially poor) with underdeveloped service components.

Still these programs have helped to pave the way for national service. Skeptics who thought young people were not wanted or could not perform competently in overseas assignments were proved wrong by the work of thousands of Peace Corps volunteers. Hundreds of thousands of applicants for the Job Corps destroyed the myth that only a compulsory program could reach poor, uneducated young people, and the effective tutorial services of the Neighborhood Youth Corps demolished the thesis that such young people were suitable only for menial tasks.

These programs are also teaching us where they fall short of the national service ideal. For example, many VISTA volunteers have felt frustrated with their inability to effect the reforms which they want and society needs. Some have concluded that the necessary reforms could never be achieved through service; an overthrow of the system was required. What has not been tested is the potential of a full-scale service program. Suppose, for example, the Teacher Corps, in cooperation with the local school board, teachers' union, parents, students, and colleges, were to recruit young people to augment the teaching staff of city schools to bring the teacher-pupil ratio to the level of private schools. The ratio might drop from, say, 1:30 to 1:12. Until we know the true impact of this ap-

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proach, and similar ones in such fields as health, environment, and protection, we cannot rule out the national service idea as an agent of change.

The longer the United States delays experimentation with national service, the more rapidly does it approach the time when a crash program may be needed. Our record is less dismal than one might guess. The Civilian Conservation Corps was our major successful mobilization program of youthful manpower for nonmilitary purposes. Within three months of the day it became law in 1933, some 275,000 young men were enrolled in CCC camps.

Although unemployment figures have not reached the crisis level of 1933, the combined effect of rising unemployment, youthful alienation, societal needs, and the lock-step of education appears to be leading us toward a crisis of similar proportions. While there is still time, it is only common sense to test a program designed to meet the basic needs of youth and society and which, as a by-product, might avert the looming crisis. Moreover, such a test is long overdue. National service pilot projects were recommended in 1967 by the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and by the National Service Conference, in 1969 by the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, and in 1970 by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest.

Skeptics of national service probably will look upon such projects as test cases, the results of these pilot projects to determine whether or not a full-scale program should be undertaken. National service proponents, on the other hand, will likely consider the results as a demonstration of the enormous potential of the national service concept.

Whatever the pilot projects prove to be, this paper looks upon them primarily as empirical research. A theoretical basis for national service has been defined. A national service concept has been put forward and examined, the expected benefits tabulated, the costs estimated, the probable impact on the draft, on education, on society, considered. Viewed as a seed, national service has been quite thoroughly analyzed. Now it is time to plant seed, several of them, in different kinds of soil, and in various types of weather. Then, when the fruit has been harvested, we can determine what next for national service.

Before designing test projects, we must first ask what it is we want to discover. Then we can design the projects to most efficiently meet our objectives.

Assumptions This paper is based on the kind of national service program outlined in a ten-point *Statement on National Volunteer Service*,[1] which has drawn the endorsement of many of the strongest advocates of national service. The statement reads as follows:

1 *Statement on National Volunteer Service*. Washington, D.C.: National Service Secretariat, August 3, 1970.

The zeal of young people to build a better society has never been clearer than it is now. Yet opportunities to work constructively for a better society are limited. Compared to national needs, relatively few jobs in the service fields are available to young men and women.

Still, the service needed by society—in such fields as education, health, conservation and municipal services—is enormous. Many of these needs could be met by young people, those who are asking for relevance in education, for a chance to meet their service responsibility outside the armed forces, and for first-hand experience with problems whose outcomes will determine the kind of world to be passed on to their children.

In order to meet many of our most pressing needs and to permit young men and women to become engaged in the building of a better society, WE ENDORSE A PROGRAM OF NATIONAL VOLUNTEER SERVICE, which would have these basic features:

1. Service opportunities would be available to all young people. The main criterion for admission would be willingness to serve.
2. Each participant would both serve and learn. Learning would range from development of specific skills to growth in self-knowledge, problem-solving, and working with people.
3. Service activities would be directed and financed at the local level to the extent permitted by available resources, and would include projects organized and directed by young people. Thus, maximum local initiative would be encouraged.
4. Service activities would be underwritten by a public foundation at the national level. Such a foundation, which should be removed from political pressures but which would receive both Congressional appropriations and private contributions, would assure support for all needy projects.
5. The basic *raison d'être* for national volunteer service is the need society has for the service of youth. Main areas are tutoring, health and mental health, conservation, and various kinds of community and family service. By serving in these fields, young people would be able to test themselves through service to society and would receive valuable experience for their careers.
6. Young people who seem poorly qualified by conventional standards could serve effectively. High school dropouts are today serving as tutors, and doing a good job; others are receiving specialized training for responsible hospital positions. Each participant would be given the training and supervision needed for the assignment.
7. There would be a transition phase. Growth of national volunteer service would be constrained by identification of useful tasks, finding enough

trainers and supervisors, and obtaining sufficient funding. The transition phase would permit experimentation with various techniques and activities.

8. Participation would be by means of a contract, voluntarily entered into by all parties. The contract would spell out the responsibilities of the participant, the sponsoring agency and the funding agency.
9. Duration of service would range from a minimum of one year to a maximum of four years. The normal contract period would be one or two years, renewable.
10. Participation in national volunteer service would be viewed as fulfillment of a person's service obligation. Thus, satisfactory completion of national volunteer service—for the same period of time as needed to complete one's military service obligation—would place participants in the same draft category as veterans of military service. Also, if armed forces manpower requirements were to be met solely by volunteers, there would be no need to relate civilian service to military service since both would be manned by volunteers.

Profile of Need How many tutors are needed? How many to work on health projects? How many conservationists? How many to assist city officials in the delivery of human services?

In the absence of more recent data, major reliance for theoretical estimates of need is placed on two six-year-old reports, one prepared by the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, the other by Greenleigh Associates for the Office of Economic Opportunity. Both reports estimated the need for sub-professional workers in public service fields, as shown in Tables I[2] and II.[3]

Based on these estimates, a subsequent reordering of national priorities (e. g. beautification must now be subsumed under environmental concerns), and my experience with youth service programs, such as, the Atlanta Urban Corps, I compiled in 1970 a revised estimate of needs, as shown in Table III.[4] For purposes of planning pilot projects, it is suggested that Table III serve as the profile of need until harder data become available.

2 "Technology and the American Economy," in *Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Vol. I, February, 1966, p. 36.

3 *A Public Employment Program for Unemployed Poor*. New York: Greenleigh Associates, November, 1965, pp. 28-29.

4 Donald J. Eberly. *The Estimated Effect of a National Service Program on Public Service Manpower Needs, Youth Employment, College Attendance and Marriage Rates*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970.

TABLE I

Source of Employment	*Job Potential (in millions)*
Medical institutions and health services	1.2
Educational institutions	1.1
National beautification	1.3
Welfare and home care	0.7
Public protection	0.35
Urban renewal and sanitation	0.65
Total	5.3

TABLE II

Field of Service	*Theoretical Potential*
Health, including hospitals and mental health	1,355,000
Education	2,016,900
Day care	14,000
Recreation and beautification	136,000
Libraries	62,700
Public welfare	65,000
Probation and parole	16,000
Institutions, dependent and delinquent children	38,500
Public works	150,000
Police and fire	50,000
Prisons	24,000
Defense	350,000
Total	4,278,100

Who Will Serve? What young people will choose to participate in national service? Will they be rich or poor? Black or white? Male or female? High school dropouts or college graduates?

Survey data are available on these questions from three polls taken in recent years. Poll Number 89 of the Purdue Opinion Panel asked a representative sample of high school students this question:

TABLE III

Estimated Needs and Educational Requirements for National Service Participants

(numbers in thousands)

		Minimum Academic Background			
	Need	H.S. Dropout	H.S. Grad.	Some College	College Grad.
TOTAL	4,030	1,340	1,470	935	285
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES	1,000	205	420	270	105
Tutors	600	100	300	180	20
Teacher aides	300	100	100	80	20
Teachers	60	—	—	—	60
Public media aides	40	5	20	10	5
HEALTH SERVICES	900	215	405	230	50
Health aides	800	200	350	210	40
At hospitals	600	150	250	170	30
Outside hospitals	200	50	100	40	10
Mental health aides	100	15	55	20	10
At institutions	50	10	25	10	5
Outside institutions	50	5	30	10	5
ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES	800	600	110	50	40
Conservation aides	500	400	50	30	20
Pollution & sanitation aides	100	60	20	10	10
Beautification aides	100	70	20	5	5
Park development aides	100	70	20	5	5
SOCIAL SERVICES	560	110	210	210	30
Day care aides	200	30	100	65	5
Welfare aides	200	30	50	110	10
Parole & Probation aides	20	5	10	5	—
Prison aides	20	5	10	5	—
Geriatric aides	50	20	20	10	—
Settlement house aides	50	20	20	10	—
Legal aides	20	—	—	5	15
PROTECTION SERVICES	300	60	155	65	20
Police aides	200	25	120	45	10
Fire aides	50	20	15	10	5
Highway safety aides	50	15	20	10	5
OTHER SERVICES	470	150	170	110	40
Public works aides	200	100	70	25	5
Recreation aides	100	20	50	25	5
Library aides	50	—	15	30	5
Mayor's aides	20	5	5	5	5
Others	100	25	30	25	20

Instead of being drafted into the armed forces, suppose every person, male or female, could spend one year working in some way for his country to solve its problems. For which of these would you be willing to work a year? (Answer only one.)

A—Poverty: slums, ghettoes, welfare programs, housing, etc.

B—Conservation: air, water, pollution, etc.

C—Education: improve and expand
D—Race problems: provide equal opportunity
E—Some other than above; or would not be willing to work a year[5]

Four years earlier, in April 1966, the Gallup Organization asked college students this question:

VISTA is a federal program made up of volunteers who live and work among the poor in depressed areas of the nation. Do you think you would have any interest in working in this program, either on a full-time or a part-time basis?[6]

Results for a selected group of teen-age girls are found in a survey conducted for *Seventeen* magazine in February 1969. It asked a sample of their subscribers this question concerning voluntary national service:

Would you personally volunteer to serve for a year in such a program?[7]

These and related questions in the three surveys yielded responses which suggest theoretical answers to several questions that pilot projects could be expected to answer empirically:

1. All three polls indicate a majority interest in national service quite apart from draft considerations, and a somewhat stronger interest as a draft alternative. The surveys also indicate that more young women than young men would volunteer for a program of national service.
2. By age and educational levels, the surveys suggest that the largest group of entrants into national service would be high school graduates, ages seventeen or eighteen. Some would choose to finish college before entering, while others would interrupt high school or college studies to enlist.
3. The racial composition of national service participants would reflect the larger society, with minority group representation falling no lower than from 11 percent to 10 percent. On project choice, the percentage of minority group volunteers working in poverty programs would be substantially over 11 percent, while the percentage working on conservation projects would be substantially under 11 percent.

5 A. C. Erlick, "People Problems: Population, Pollution, Prejudice, Poverty, Peace." *Report of Poll 89*. Purdue University: The Purdue Opinion Panel, 1970.

6 *Attitudes of College Students Toward VISTA*. Princeton, New Jersey: The Gallup Organization, Inc., 1966.

7 "National Service Survey," *Seventeen* Magazine, March 1969, p. 5.

4. The surveys reveal a slight lessening of interest at the two extremes of the economic spectrum. Also high school students with very low grades are somewhat less interested in national service than those with average or high grades. When the surveys are examined regionally, it is clear that young people would volunteer for national service in very nearly the same proportions from all regions of the country.

The surveys are not helpful in forecasting how many men would opt for civilian service as against military service. At any rate, the major determinants, such as, war and level of unemployment, would not be controllable by pilot project administrators.

Should the nation decide to commit itself to the draft and to national service, then pilot projects should test the influence on enrollment of such controllable variables as rates of pay, duration of enlistment, and postservice benefits.

Should the nation decide to commit itself to a volunteer military force and a standby draft only, the pilot projects should test the option plan for national service to discover how much money in incentive pay and amenities for persons in the military could be saved by instituting a program of national service.

What Will Be Accomplished? This is the most difficult area to take measurements. What is the value to a person learning at age twenty, instead of age fifty, that a career in which he serves his fellow man would be more rewarding? What is the value to society of motivating 1,000 young people to enter legitimate careers instead of the world of crime? What is the value to the economy of looking after 4,000,000 infants of working mothers?

The direct financial aspects of these acts could be estimated fairly accurately. The social and personal benefits, however, do not lend themselves to easy quantification. One approach is to compare the cost of national service benefits to the cost of the same benefits obtained through alternative means.

Consider, for example, a National Service Highway Safety Patrol Corps. Although Corps members would carry no guns and have no power of arrest, it is postulated that their presence on the highways would deter speeders and reduce fatalities. Corpsmen would administer first aid to accident victims and with the aid of helicopters attached to each Corps unit assist in rushing victims to hospitals.

Benefits to participants would include training in auto mechanics, first aid, electronic equipment maintenance, helicopter operation, and career guidance. Attitudinal changes on such subjects as age, race, nationality, education, and family income could also be examined.

The total benefits accruing from the Patrol Corps and comparable programs in other major areas, such as, education, health, and conservation, would be quantified, and the cost compared with the cost of achieving the same benefits

through alternate methods. The results would indicate those areas in which national service was the most economical means to a set of objectives and those in which it was the most costly.

To be useful, project goals must be fairly specific. With the highway safety project, for example, the objectives might include the items in Table IV.

Clearly, if goals are to be measured with a fair degree of accuracy and have significance, the test projects would have to be concentrated. It would be very hard to measure the impact of 1,000 highway safety patrolmen spread throughout the country, but relatively easy to measure their impact if confined to one state.

Designing a Pilot Project Although numerous questions have been posed on the national service concept, they cannot be answered independently of each other. National service is not simply the provision of manpower, such as, the assignment of a highway safety patrolman to a dangerous intersection. It is not simply the education offered to participants. Nor is

TABLE IV

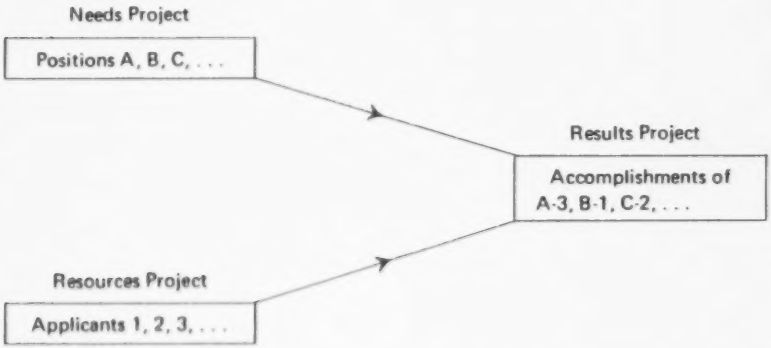
1. Number of lives saved.
2. Number of injuries avoided.
3. Reduction of damages to automobiles (dollar value).
4. Provision of training
   a. In first aid
   b. In auto mechanics
   c. In radio
   d. In helicopter operation.
5. Facilitation of career choice
   a. As highway patrolmen
   b. As helicopter pilots
   c. As medical personnel
   d. As auto mechanics
   e. As electronic technicians.
6. Reduction of societal costs resulting from Corps participation
   a. Penal system
   b. Welfare system
   c. Unemployment
   d. Educational system
   e. Health system.

national service simply an opportunity offered young people to experiment with public service careers, to travel, to find alternatives to the draft and the lock-step of education. National service is all of these things, and the profile of motivations and benefits of a national service experience would be unique to each participant. So, if national service is to be tested properly, the experiment must be comprehensive and conducted on a fairly large scale.

As indicated earlier, the main thrust of this empirical research project appears to fall into the following three categories:

What are the needs?
Who will meet them?
What will be accomplished?

Sequentially, these topics are interrelated as shown below:



In practice, then, an integrated pilot project can be designed in which the persons who enroll in the Resources Project can fill the positions identified in the Needs Project, and their accomplishments measured in the Results Project.

Before designing a pilot program to test our hypotheses, however, we have to recognize three possible limiting factors.

First, all national service projects will involve the interaction of national service participants and other human beings. Hence it will be important for the participants not only to be needed, but also to be wanted by the local residents. Ideally, a community would initiate a request for a test project, would design the project, would provide for training and supervision of participants, and would evaluate the completed project. The actual sponsor, which might be the board of education, a local hospital, or a new consortium, would have to demonstrate broad-based community support.

Proper receptivity to national service cannot be overstated. For this reason our test criteria cannot be too rigid. It would be preferable, for example, to test national service in an area that is 25 percent black and receptive than one that is precisely 11 percent black and hostile. This factor is not simply the hope of a national service protagonist. Testing national service in a hostile area means a built-in negative bias, probable failure, and the likelihood that the national service researchers will never have their questions answered.

The second constraint concerns finding an adequate number of competent, middle-level personnel to fill positions created by a test project. In our highway safety project, for example, we would need a helicopter instructor and a number of other supervisory personnel. No doubt they can be found, but if we have to go outside the test area to locate such individuals, it is likely that we would not yet be ready to launch the highway safety program on a nationwide basis.

A third constraint arises if the number of positions and the number of applicants are unequal. To permit a need to go unfilled, or an applicant to be rejected for lack of opportunity, would damage the credibility of the whole operation. Reservoirs should be established. If needs exceed participants, the project should be able to recruit outside persons and to include them in the project. If participants exceed needs, similar projects elsewhere should be started.

These fringe considerations probably would entail higher unit costs, but they are, nevertheless, essential to a thorough test of the idea. For they are what differentiates national service from VISTA and other limited programs. Young people must be guaranteed a chance to serve. And public service agencies must be assured the help they request. Without such guarantees the project degenerates into another token effort. With them, we can discover whether national service is as powerful a program as it is an idea.

The Resources Project Several possibilities exist for the Resources Project. To determine the size and nature of the universe of persons who would enroll, national service could be open to all whose birthdays fell on a specified date, or whose last name began with a certain letter. Either of these approaches would assure recruits from all over the country. In terms of local impact, however, either alternative would dilute the pilot project. So few persons would enroll from any single area that it would be difficult to measure the effect on schools, business, crime rate, and so on.

The most useful approach from a research viewpoint would open the pilot project to all young people in a given geographic area. By means of the gerrymander principle, a standard metropolitan area could be expanded to include some rural areas, thereby defining a population whose socioeconomic characteristics typify the United States as a whole. Not only would such an approach facilitate studying the impact of national service, but it would also reduce the costs of recruitment and otherwise add to the efficiency of the test project.

The minimum population of the test area should be 1,000,000. This writer has earlier suggested that a national service program would enroll some 2,000,000 young people, or about 1 percent of the total population.[8] Let us assume that we could expect to enroll 1 percent of the population in the pilot project. With some 10,000 participants, the project should yield results that would be predictive of a nationwide national service program.

Do the prescribed test areas exist? They certainly do. According to the 1970 census, 15 states and 54 metropolitan areas have population totals between the suggested limits of 500,000 and 2,000,000. These examples are cited not to rule out other test sites, such as multistate regions and individual city boroughs, but merely to indicate the number of options within a fairly narrow population range.

A firm decision on the test project would have to be made a year before the operation begins. Even before the decision is made, however, cooperation with the local citizenry would have to be secured and the funds appropriated. In the year after the decision, the staff would set up the necessary machinery, an independent research team organized to make measurements, and positions found for the estimated 10,000 participants.

In designing and implementing the pilot projects, it will be helpful for planning purposes to have some notional figures. A solely qualitative approach would result in great variations in the assumptions of staff members as to the number of participants. A possible breakdown for the Resources Project is given in Table V.

The Needs Project By definition, the Needs Project must be concentrated. Places for 2,500 educational aides could easily be found throughout the country, but that experience would tell us little about total nationwide demand. Hence the Needs Project should be undertaken in an area comparable in size to the Resources Project.

Unlike the Resources Project, however, the Needs Project can be divided by category. In fact, more accurate estimates of nationwide demand probably would result from conducting sub-projects in separate localities than from having all projects in the same place.

By having each of the Needs Projects tested in different communities, different administrative approaches could be tried, and it will not be an all-or-nothing proposition. By encouraging local officials to use the administrative procedures that seem best for their needs, it would be possible to examine the similarities and differences in procedure, and to determine which matters should be made a condition of participation in national service projects and which should be set locally. Furthermore, project dispersal would place less strain on the

8 Eberly, *op. cit.*

TABLE V

		Variation
Total population of area	1,000,000	+100%, —50%
Minority group population	110,000	+100%, —20%
No. of applicants, 16-30	25,000	+100%, —50%
No. rejected	250	+100%, —50%
No. opting out	14,750	+100%, —50%
No. of participants	10,000	± 50%
No. of dropouts	500	± 50%
Age of participants		
16-17 years	1,500	± 35%
18-19 years	4,000	± 25%
20-21 years	2,500	± 30%
22-25 years	1,500	± 35%
26-29 years	500	± 50%
Educational background of participants		
High school dropouts	2,500	± 20%
High school graduates	4,000	± 15%
Some college	2,000	± 20%
College graduates	1,500	± 25%
Sex of participants		
Male	4,000	± 30%
Female	6,000	± 25%

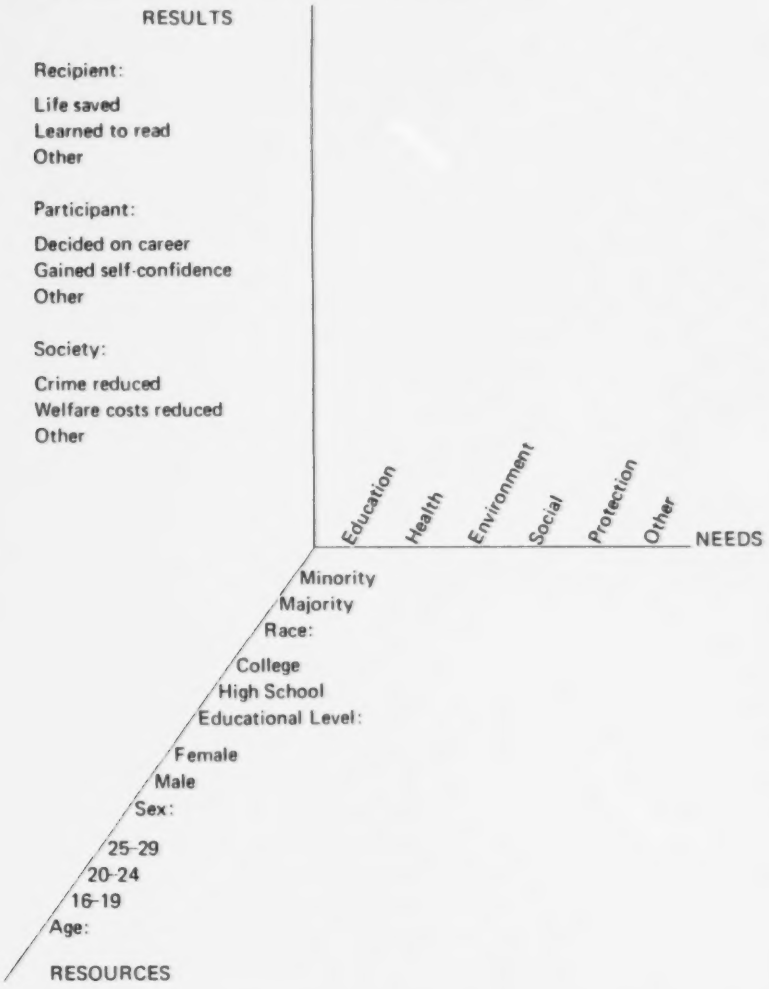
communities where the sub-projects took place. If all were concentrated in one locality, it would be comparable to launching a nationwide program of 2,000,000 participants with no build-up period!

One of the Needs Projects should be tested in the same area as the Resources Project. In doing so, we should be able to determine the number and types of young people who opt for local service, and to examine the comparative results of such service.

Just how the projects would be divided would depend heavily on the nature of the proposals. An advisory board to the pilot project could review the proposals and award contracts in a manner to most nearly achieve a nationwide program in miniature.

FIGURE 1

Major Components of National Service Pilot Project



Participation in each sub-project should cover the socioeconomic spectrum, although individual sub-projects would often show distortions from the norm. For example, the average educational level of participants in an educational project would likely be somewhat higher than in a conservation project.

The Results Project While the sponsoring organization in each participating community would be responsible for basic recordkeeping, an independent agency should be engaged to audit such records and otherwise to evaluate and interpret the results.

Such an agency would conduct its research in accordance with the project objectives. It would fully describe the resources and needs and explain in detail the extent to which the objectives were met. Evaluation studies would begin when the sites were chosen and would continue throughout the life of the project.

In addition, provision should be made for other persons wishing to evaluate the national service pilot project. The aforementioned advisory board could rule on the legitimacy of such requests and minimize the effect of the Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle by keeping research studies from seriously affecting the project itself.

In summary, we have designed a pilot project to test the national service concept. Always difficult to define simply, the three components of the project are shown graphically in Figure 1. Such a three-dimensional matrix suggests the interrelationships among the components and could be an informative way of presenting data on the project.

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1971–1980

The Pilot Project Succeeds
Working with the Roosevelts
Youth Service in Britain, China and Cuba

This period saw President Nixon resign under threat of impeachment because of the Watergate scandal; it saw the draft end in 1973 and the Vietnam War end in 1975. It concluded with the Carter years, characterized by some attention to youth participation and human rights, but by indecision in regard to the economy and foreign affairs.

* * *

A Pilot Project

As director of the new ACTION agency, Joe Blatchford did not plunge right into national service. He examined details of the idea closely and he sent half a dozen ACTION employees to Indianapolis for a week to check on the likely demand for national service volunteers in a typical city. When their figures were extrapolated nationwide, they indicated that 500,000 18-20 year old volunteers could be placed immediately and over one million after one year.

Blatchford's next step amazed me for its boldness. He submitted a multi-billion dollar national service budget to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). I wondered why he would do this in the face of certain rejection.

His strategy paid off. OMB did not give him a penny but they did say he could test the idea, on two conditions:

(1) he could not call it national service
and

(2) he would have to use already appropriated funds to run the test.

Accordingly, he called it the Program for Local Service (PLS). He transferred about $1.5 million of VISTA money into the PLS account. At last, money was at hand for the pilot project.

I recommended to Blatchford that we do the project somewhere in the State of Washington since its governor, Daniel J. Evans, had said very positive things about national service in his 1968 keynote address to the Republican National Convention. When something is first tested, I figured, it requires good growing conditions.

Early in 1973, PLS was launched in South Seattle and environs. Gov. Evans' support was crucial. The program was to be financed by means of a grant from ACTION to Washington State. I spent two weeks there on negotiations. Three times they stalled and we had to get in touch with Evans' office to remind my fellow negotiators that this was a project the governor really wanted. At last we had a signed agreement and PLS was under way. It is described in "A Universal Youth Service" (see p. 151).

Although small in numbers, PLS was a significant national service milestone because it was the purest test to date and because it answered several significant questions about national service.

For example, ACTION officials generally held one of two diametrically opposed views on who would volunteer for it. Some thought it would be viewed primarily as a volunteer program and, as such, would attract mostly young people who were white, well-educated and well-to-do. Others thought it would be viewed primarily as a work experience program and would attract mostly minority young people and those who were poor and out of work. That it actually attracted a fairly representative sample of the youth population with small biases in favor of women and persons who were minority, poor, unemployed, and better educated testified to the broad appeal of youth service.

Blatchford left ACTION just as PLS was being launched. Fortunately, the money for PLS had been committed and ACTION saw that test through to its completion. As a successful experiment, PLS might have grown and received its own legislative authority had Blatchford

remained in ACTION. However, it was quickly phased out by his successor.

I thought the project had been well executed by Putnam Barber, Jim DeBlasio, Linda Muller and others, and that an objective evaluation had been conducted by Control Systems Research.

High School Service-Learning

Both the Peace Corps and VISTA had been merged into ACTION with its creation in 1971. The status of the Teacher Corps, a similar program begun in 1965 and focusing on inner-city education, had been left in limbo. It was located in the U.S. Office of Education and its director, Richard A. Graham, had been fired on the day Nixon had announced his intention to create ACTION. Blatchford was as keen to see the Teacher Corps move into ACTION as Graham was so he hired Graham shortly after ACTION's creation.

I was not involved in the politics of the Teacher Corps struggle (the Teacher Corps remained in the Office of Education and became a program to retrain teachers) but I knew Graham from having consulted with him in the process of putting together the national service plan in 1966. He introduced me to Owen Kiernan, head of the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), Prof. Robert Havighurst and other leaders in secondary education. They were interested in increasing opportunities for constructive experiential education for high schoolers and regarded community service as an important aspect of their initiative.

Graham, Kiernan, Havighurst and I had lunch one day and decided that a new phrase was needed to describe what we were talking about. We came up with "action-learning." We thought it was a dynamic phrase, that it incorporated service-learning as well as other activities, and that it might attract financial support from ACTION because of its title.

Action-learning did achieve some currency and ACTION did finance a few small projects. However, the most important feature of the high school initiative was the promotional and legitimizing work done by NASSP. Until then, school-supported community service

had been largely for the weakest students, with the intent of keeping them in school; and for the strongest students, with the intent of preventing them from being bored between the time of college acceptance and high school graduation. The NASSP-sponsored studies, conferences and publications caused high school community service to be seen as a serious aspect of the educational process.

The ACTION job and the collaboration with NASSP gave me a chance to crystallize my thoughts about federal support for high school community service. I had been talking for some time, but not very specifically, about the desirability of graduated service experiences, wherein young people would intensify their service activities as they grew up.

Thus, junior high students might visit such places as nursing homes and police stations and discuss what they see with the professionals. High school students might engage in part-time service projects during the school year and full-time projects during the summer, again discussing their observations with one another and with teachers. This kind of background would equip them to make sensible decisions about national service after high school.

The question was: How to give support without too intrusive a federal role?

With outside endorsement of the NASSP and with support from the appropriate ACTION officials, I formulated a plan for a Youth Challenge Program (YCP) wherein ACTION would make grants to high schools and other bodies that agreed to establish local service-learning programs. Most of the money would go to service-learning coordinators, who might be based at schools, volunteer agencies or city halls. Being aware of the interests of the young people, of those they would serve, and of the educators, the coordinators would be in a position to articulate an effort that would optimize the benefits to all parties. Funds might also be used for such things as transportation and insurance payments.

I drew up a set of criteria adapted from an earlier paper. (See p. 86.) I published them in a guide that we sent to grant applicants. (See p. 158.) Several

dozen grants were made and YCP seemed to be off to a good start.

Then disaster struck.

In the summer of 1974, I was removed from my management responsibilities for PLS and YCP and instructed not to communicate with the grant recipients.

I was not too surprised at the action taken, since my recommendations for the future were not in line with the direction in which ACTION was then headed. But I was surprised not to be given a month or so to hand over my duties to someone else.

The other shoe fell a while later when I was fired (the technical term was reduction in force) from ACTION but, in the same letter, offered a position two grades lower. I accepted the demotion.

Neither in the letter, nor otherwise, had there been any complaints with the way I had managed PLS and my other responsibilities. The objective apparently was to remove me from policy discussions.

The Shadow of FDR

A telephone call in mid-1975 brought me out of my gloom. It was from Joseph P. Lash, author of *Eleanor and Franklin*. I had been reading the book which included a chapter on Eleanor Roosevelt's advocacy of universal youth service.

He explained that he was the program chairman of the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. This was a small foundation created from money left over from contributions that paid for the Eleanor Roosevelt wing of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park.

Until that time, the Institute had concentrated on making grants to scholars to do research and writing on the life of Eleanor Roosevelt. The trustees had decided they wanted to do something of a more activist nature that would be relevant to current needs and would be in keeping with Eleanor Roosevelt's philosophy.

Youth unemployment was a serious problem and it promised to be an issue in the 1976 Presidential campaign. They figured that a conference on universal youth service might bring to public notice an answer to the problem of youth unemployment.

Lash said that Rep. Jonathan Bingham had given him my name and Lash asked if he could meet with me on an upcoming trip to Washington. That was a meeting I looked forward to with great anticipation.

Lash, assuming I was a busy man and not knowing how I was being treated at ACTION, seemed a little hesitant in asking me to play a lead role in organizing the conference. When he did, I assured him there was nothing I would rather do for the next several months.

However, I explained, I would have to request an unpaid leave from ACTION. (Lash had offered me several thousand dollars to work on the conference.) I told him I thought it could be arranged, since others had done so without much difficulty.

But I wondered to myself if ACTION would approve it. Fearing that they might turn me down, I devised a strategy that brought my boss, Harry Hogan, face-to-face with Lash.

I had told Lash that Hogan was personally sympathetic to national service. When they met, Lash asked Hogan:

(1) to let me have 30 days leave – over a six month period – to work on the conference,

(2) to attend the conference, and

(3) to write a paper for it.

Hogan readily accepted. In fact, he said there would be no need to take unpaid leave as I could work on the conference out of my ACTION office and on ACTION's time.

It was a fine experience – a fitting counterpoint to the previous year at ACTION. I participated in several planning meetings in New York City with Lash, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Justine Wise Polier, and other members of the program committee.

The first time I met Roosevelt was one day when he and Lash took me to lunch. I watched as Roosevelt carefully inserted a cigarette in its holder, placed it between his teeth and tilted his head backward in the pose for which his father was famous. As I never saw

him go through this routine again, I assume it was a bit of theater designed to impress the viewer. It did.

The only dispute I can recall was over the site of our dinner meeting for the conference. Some of us favored a nearby cooking school for young people as it would be consistent with the theme of the conference. Others favored a nearby restaurant for logistical reasons. Logistics won out.

The conference in April, 1976 got some media attention but less than we had hoped. Rep. Andrew Young, our keynote speaker, had been in the news earlier in the week concerning presidential candidate Jimmy Carter's reference to "ethnic purity." It was described as a code word for approval of segregated housing and the press was much interested in Young's views since he was one of Carter's strongest supporters. After talking with Carter, Young said he was satisfied that Carter did not approve of segregated housing and before long the issue was behind him.

The media's interest in Young did not carry over to the subject of our conference. There were several brief news items on it as well as an article by columnist Neal Peirce. (See p. 136.) The basic principles of the Eberly plan referred to by Peirce appear under the subhead "A National Model" (p. 153). Its operation at the local level is described on p. 163.

A check for $3,500 from the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute arrived shortly after the Conference. I sent it back with an explanation that my work was covered by my ACTION salary, but that a contribution to the Secretariat would be welcome. Soon the Secretariat was $3,500 richer.

Jobs and Service

The issue of youth unemployment did not blow over. It was the subject of the first question put to Carter in his first debate with President Gerald Ford. Carter replied that he would reinstitute something like the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s.

With Carter's election in November, everyone knew that a major youth initiative was forthcoming. Congress-

[continued on p. 138]

THE WASHINGTON POST, MONDAY, MAY 24, 1976

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Neal R. Peirce

Investing in Young People

Universal youth service, often proposed but never instituted in the United States, has emerged again as a response to sky-high levels of unemployment—and alienation—among the nation's young people.

Even in a "full employment" economy, according to former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, "there would be a 20 per cent unemployment rate among white youths and 40 per cent among black youths. More and more employers are simply not hiring anybody under 20,except for dead end jobs such as dishing out hamburgers."

"We make almost no investment in youth between 16 and 25," Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.) told this correspondent. "These young people wander the streets and become drifters. They lack a basic sense of direction or roots." The dearth of youth-oriented programs, Young said, leads directly to "crime and all kinds of social disorders we're now throwing money at—with few tangible results."

Mr. Peirce, a contributing editor of National Journal, writes a syndicated column on the problems of cities and states.

It would be a better idea, Young said, to "throw some love" instead, through a universal youth service (UYS) that gives young people a structured way to serve their communities and gain their first work experiences.

The start of a national campaign to enact UYS in the 1970s emerged last month at a conference of some 75 educators, labor officials, businessmen and alumni of past national youth projects at the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in Hyde Park, N.Y.

The Roosevelt tie is a "natural." The closest the nation ever came to UYS was the Civilian Conservation Corps' forest and park camps and the wide variety of service projects under the National Youth Administration, both programs of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s.

Youth programs since World War II have been limited to specialized groups: the GI Bill for veterans, the Peace Corps and VISTA for the highly qualified, and Great Society "war on poverty" programs for the disadvantaged. President Lyndon B. Johnson considered national service in 1966—about the time he found he couldn't have both guns for Vietnam and more social programs at home.

Among attendees at the Hyde Park conference were Young and Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., strong supporters of Jimmy Carter, the frontrunning contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. Carter, Roosevelt said, believes a national plan and program to

combat youth unemployment is essential, and is studying the universal service approach. Both Young and Roosevelt said they would strongly urge Carter, should he be elected, to back UYS. Young, as Carter's leading advocate among black elected officials, might be particularly influential.

No precise formula for UYS emerged from Hyde Park, but three points came through loud and clear: Youth must be involved in the planning. Major federal funding—$1 billion to $5.5 billion annually—would be needed. And the program should be administered at the grass-roots level to avoid federal bureaucratic red tape and to encourage local initiatives for creative service opportunities.

Under the model developed by Donald J. Eberly, a universal youth service proponent since the early 1950s, the program "must be truly open to all persons from 18 to 25." It would have two major options—community service (teacher's aides, paramedics, assistants in social agencies, etc.) and environmental service (tree planting, park improvements and the like).

Applicants would agree to a contract with public or private agencies that had requested volunteers. UYS would pay the minimum wage to all participants.

A pilot program in Washington State, first proposed by Republican Gov. Dan Evans and similar to the Eberly model, has been in operation for three years. By all accounts this "Program for Local Service," funded by the federal volunteer agency, ACTION, and administered by the state's Office of Community Development, has been exceptionally successful. Agencies have hired 40 per cent of volunteers at the end of their year's service, and 71 per cent of the agencies reported that the volunteers "equalled or surpassed regular employees in motivation, responsibility and skills."

The Washington program does not eliminate applicants for lack of education or experience. One 22-year-old woman, considered mentally retarded, worked at a senior citizens center organizing events from pinochle tournaments to trips out of town. When her service was up, the residents successfully petitioned their city council for funds to hire her permanently.

Young envisages a prestige youth corps in non-military type uniform ("like what our Olympians wear"). Service should begin, he thinks, with physical and civics training and discipline to help young people learn to work within a group. Young believes the program should eventually be compulsory. He had opposed abolishing the draft because "the Army provided the only education a lot of poor folk got."

But compulsion, according to Washington's Secretary of State Bruce K. Chapman, "is a horrible idea that would poison the well of volunteerism and service. I don't trust the government to know what's best for people." Voluntary service, Chapman added, can be an honor and challenge for young people and provide incentives for longterm career success.

UYS could even expand to include private sector opportunities—perhaps, Roosevelt suggests, through tax breaks to employers who offer young people work experience. The arts, home crafts or even organic farming could be eligible, Chapman says.

In place of either "federal officialdom" or "local officialdom" administering UYS at the local level, Wirtz would turn to such groups as community colleges, Lions and Rotary Clubs, or Big Sisters to propose volunteer activities and run the program.

Bypassing state and local governments, however, could generate the same kind of opposition that eventually killed off Great Society projects such as the Community Action Program.

A strong point of a successful UYS program is that it might reduce future criminal justice and welfare costs so significantly that it would be cost-effective, even with annual expenditures of several billion dollars of the taxpayers' money.

But the essential point is human. As President Roosevelt said in 1935, when 2,870,000 young people were out of work and out of school, "We can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women."

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men scrambled to author the bill that would become law. I worked most closely with Young and his staff in putting together a bill that:

- emphasized service,
- had educational linkages, and
- would not be targeted solely at a particular class of young people.

His bill and several others are summarized in *Newsletter* No. 32. (See p. 139.) The provision in the Young bill for 75% of the participants to be unemployed and poor was a little higher than I had wanted, but it was not a big problem since I estimated that in a completely untargeted program, about half of the participants would be so classified.

Shortly after introducing the bill, Young was appointed UN Ambassador. I called his aide to see if he would campaign within the Carter Administration on youth policy. I learned that he would be focusing entirely on the UN job. This hurt the prospects for service becoming a major part of the Carter youth plan. Additional blows were to come.

Carter was moving slowly on his promised youth initiative. In February, Sen. Stafford threatened to bring his youth bill (see *Newsletter*) to a vote if Carter did not introduce a youth proposal by March 9, 1977.

Carter did not want to appear indecisive. He hurriedly put together the package described in the *Newsletter*.

However, I found his March 9th announcement rather disappointing since he repeatedly referred to it as a "jobs for needy youth" program instead of challenging young people to serve in needed conservation and community improvement projects, as he could have done.

The Carter plan immediately became the frame of reference for the hearings on youth employment. The major opening for youth service was now the discretionary money in part three of his design. Several of us

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NATIONAL SERVICE NEWSLETTER

March 1977

No. 32 5140 Sherier Pl., NW, Washington, D.C. 20016 202-244-5828

MAJOR YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM EXPECTED THIS SPRING: PROGRAM LIKELY TO FALL SHORT OF NATIONAL SERVICE POTENTIAL

President Carter on March 9 explained how he plans to spend the $1.5 billion for youth employment programs as part of the economic recovery package he sent to Congress on January 31. The money would be spent over the next 18 months as follows:

- $350 million for 35,000 jobs for 16-24 year olds in a National Youth Conservation Corps.
- $250 million for 30,000 jobs for 16-19 year olds in Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects.
- $900 million for 138,000 jobs for 16-21 year olds, all done through CETA except for $110 million of discretionary funds.

The Carter package followed close on the heels of a flurry of legislative activity in the field of youth service and employment. Over a dozen youth bills have been introduced since the 95th session of Congress opened in January. The Carter plan, which is to be submitted to Congress by April 1 as a new title of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, is summarized together with the youth legislation most closely related to national service on pages 2 and 3.

The three-part design of the Carter plan closely resembles the combination of the Jackson-Meeds Bill, the Stafford Bill, and the Humphrey-Javits-Simon Bill. However, the magnitude of the President's plan is substantially smaller than that envisioned in these three bills.

It is generally expected that Congress will enact youth legislation and that the bill which finally emerges will differ little from the Carter plan. The extent to which the new youth program moves the country closer to national youth service depends heavily on the way the program is conceived and administered. The following elements would be consistent with the evolution of a national service program:

- A long-range effort as opposed to a stop-gap measure.
- An emphasis on meeting actual needs rather than on doing make-work jobs.

(to page 2)

TITLE	YOUTH INITIATIVES ACT OF 1977	EMPLOYMENT RESOURCES ACT	YOUNG ADULT CONSERVATION CORPS
House/Senate Sponsor Committee	HR20/S20 A. Young/Cranston Education/Human and Labor/Resources	/S1 /Mathias /Human /Resources	HR32 /S249 Meeds/Jackson Education/Energy and and Labor/Natural Resources
Age Range	From end of compulsory education to age 22	16-24	19-24, plus 16-18 for dropouts and HS grads.
Maximum Size	National Youth Service: 250,000 Private Enterprise: 35,000	National Youth Service:Open Young Adult Conservation Corps: 300,000 Wage Supplement:500,000	Not specified
Target	All youth, with at least 75% unemployed and poor	Low income youth only	All youth, with persons from high unemployment areas preferred.
Stipend	From 100% to 125% of minimum wage	From minimum wage to prevailing wage	Minimum wage or higher
Activities	Community service, Housing, Conservation, Mass transit	Community service, Housing Conservation, Transportation, Rural development	Conservation
Educational Linkages	Yes	Yes	Not specified
Grantee	State or local commission	Any public or private organization, including unions and businesses	States
Administering Agency	President will decide	Department of Labor	Department of Agriculture and Interior

- A call to all young people to serve, not just those who are poor and unemployed. This provision must be accompanied by adequate funding to enable any young person wishing to serve to do so.

- Encouragement of educational linkages, including service-learning opportunities and a GI Bill for Community Service. (to page 3)

COMPREHENSIVE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1977	YOUTH COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM	YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS
HR1731 /S170 Simon/Humphrey-Javits Education/Human and Labor/Resources	/S.306 /Stafford /Environment & Public Works	President Carter's message of March 9, 1977 (not yet in legislative form)
16-21, inclusive (Conservation Corps to age 24)	16-19, inclusive	Conservation: 16-24 Community Improvement: 16-19 Employment & Training: 16-21
Youth Community Service: 1,000,000 Private Enterprise: 500,000 Work experience (part-time): Open National Conservation Corps: 300,000 Job Corps: About 50,000	200,000 plus	National Youth Conservation Corps:35,000 Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects:30,000 Comprehensive Youth Employment and Training Programs:138,000
Mostly unemployed youth	All youth	Conservation: All youth Community Improvement:Unemployed Employment & Training:Poor & unemployed
Minimum wage or higher	Minimum wage or higher	Minimum wage or higher
Community service, Conservation Private Enterprise	Construction, Housing Conservation	Conservation Community service Construction
Yes	Yes	Mostly training
CETA Prime Sponsors	Local non-profit corporation	Mostly CETA Prime Sponsors. $110 million discretionary funds outside CETA
Department of Labor (Conservation Corps: DOA & DOI)	Department of Commerce (EDA)	Department of Labor

Hearings on the youth bills probably will be held in April. Persons wishing to testify or to submit a statement should write to the subcommittee chairmen who will be convening the hearings. They are expected to be Senator Gaylord Nelson (Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty and Migratory Labor of the Senate Human Resources Committee) and Representative Augustus Hawkins (Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities of the House Education and Labor Committee).

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testified for spending some of this money on a youth service test on a larger scale than PLS.

This was sympathetically received. By May I was telling my colleagues that ACTION could expect about $10 million for a test of national service.

First they did nothing. Then one day an aide to the ACTION director returned from a White House meeting with the news that there would be upwards of $10 million for an ACTION-conducted test of national service.

By this time, the upper echelon of ACTION were Carter appointees who typically had backgrounds in civil rights, social activism or employment policy. I thought I was getting along well with them and had thought they would ask me to direct the test project.

That was not to be. As activists, they relished the opportunity to do something new and to put their own imprint on it. There was little opportunity for this with the other ACTION programs as they were quite sharply defined by law and regulation.

This new effort, called Youth Community Service and conducted in the Syracuse N.Y. area, turned out to be less of an experiment and less of a national service program than PLS had been.

For example, one of the new employees had the job of coming up with non-traditional projects, which he defined as projects that youth service volunteers had not done before. Every time he came to me with a new idea, I reviewed the list of PLS assignments and, in every case, it had been done before. This went on for a couple of months.

In Seattle, we had set forth a design and stuck with it, letting the chips fall where they might. In Syracuse, the ACTION employees running it were continually changing policy, with the result that the experimental design went by the boards. The Syracuse staff trying to run the project got pretty upset.

A couple of years later they ran a smaller project just outside Syracuse, in the Oswego area. The design was closer to that of PLS and it worked much better.

Youth Service Overseas

The decision in mid-1977 to do YCS without me left me down in the dumps again. This time I was rescued by a letter to ACTION from the Manpower Services Commission in London.

The Commission was interested in including community service as part of a new youth opportunities program they were putting together. They had heard good things about the Program for Local Service and requested a visit by someone knowledgeable.

Since the ACTION officials felt a little guilty about pushing me aside on YCS and since I had little to do, they asked me to go. ACTION paid for the trip and even gave me a government passport.

Upon arrival, I learned that Colin Ball, my friend at the Commission and a proponent of youth service, was having an uphill struggle trying to get the head of the Commission to include youth service in the new program. By importing someone from far away and calling me an expert, Ball hoped I could convince his boss of the value of youth service. Alas, I was unable to get through to his boss any more than Ball.

What I did there was to have some very good conversations with individuals and with small groups of people who were open to youth service but didn't know how to do it. I like to think that some of my ideas were put into practice by them in the local youth projects in which they were involved.

In December it was Cuba. I went there with the Educational Staff Seminar, a group of government employees who represented about three dozen agencies. They got together every month or so to share common educational interests. I was the ACTION representative for several years.

Flights were not allowed between the United States and Cuba so we flew to Montreal. There we changed planes, flying over Washington on our way to Havana.

It was worth it. We visited schools and talked with students all the way from pre-schoolers to graduate students. We had a good look around Havana and a couple of trips to residential high schools in the countryside.

Prior to going, I had mentioned the upcoming trip to Colin Ball. He said he would try to place an article on it if I wrote one. I did and it appears on p. 165.

Next was China. Barbara Bolling, a colleague at ACTION, was working with a friend of hers on a trip to China. I signed up for it. I had wanted to go to China ever since meeting H. F. Chiang, a friend of my father's from Boston University School of Theology. He was the first foreigner I remember meeting (about 1932) and he brought with him such fascinating things as wind rattles and puzzle rings.

1978 was a time when, with few exceptions, Americans could go to China only if they were members of groups with particular missions. Ours was called the Family Values Study Group.

We were a motley collection of sixteen people interested in such things as family planning, psychiatry, education and youth policy. Bolling's partner dropped out three months before departure. That made room for Louise to join the tour and I became the co-leader of the tour.

We spent about three weeks there in the Spring of 1978. It was an exhilarating experience. I talked with a barefoot doctor, a young woman who appeared to have the training of a nurse and the responsibilities of a physician. I saw college students cleaning out a canal on a weekend. I talked with other students who were majoring in foreign languages and serving for a period as tour guide interns. Though I knew the Chinese motto was "Serve the People," I was unable to determine by what process it was translated into the service activities that I witnessed.

Then it was back to Britain. In March of 1978, the youth branch of the Conservative Party had invited me to a seminar on national service. I was to be on a panel with Margaret Thatcher, then the leader of the opposition. However, at about that time the youth branch issued a white paper on marijuana use that was too lenient for the Tory leaders. The youth branch fell out of favor.

That was the end of Thatcher's involvement, but

Community Service Volunteers, Youthaid and the National Association of Youth Clubs convened a one day meeting in London in September on the question, "Should every young person give a year of service to the community?" I was the main speaker.

I learned that the British interest in national service was of a different nature from that in the U.S. Support came from three fairly distinct groups. There was a group characterized as retired colonels – older men upset with the long hair and rowdiness of some young Britons – who wanted young people to become better behaved and disciplined, just as the army had probably made them a generation earlier. There was a group of explorers and Outward Bound devotees who had faith in young people and who wanted to challenge them to a period of service which, they believed, would bring out their noble character. The third group was made up of people like Alec Dickson and Colin Ball who viewed national service much as I did, with its many dimensions.

The support group missing in Britain that was quite strong in the U.S. were the educators. American higher education has included community service with teaching and research as missions at least since the beginning of land-grant colleges in the 1860s. British universities have confined themselves largely to the goals of teaching and research.

A Legislative Initiative

In early 1979, Rep. Paul N. McCloskey introduced legislation (HR 2206) that was based on my 1966 plan for national service. The bill became the subject of much commentary by newspaper columnists and others. This was, in part, because the All-Volunteer Force was failing to meet its quota of recruits. There was concern that the military draft might have to be restored. A number of observers believed that a civilian service option would be necessary if a draft bill were to receive Congressional approval. By the same token, McCloskey's bill was attacked as an attempt to bring back the draft.

The bill did not get very far in Congress. This

was partly because several different committees had jurisdiction over it. McCloskey did manage to team up with Rep. Leon Panetta and Rep. Pat Schroeder to amend the Defense Authorization Act of 1980 to include a study of national service. Their amendment read in part:

> *The President shall prepare...recommendations with respect to the desirability, in the interest of preserving discipline and morale in the Armed Forces, of establishing a national youth service program permitting volunteer work, for either public or private public service agencies, as an alternative to military service....*[1]

It was passed and the report was due for publication in early 1980.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in late 1979. That action caused President Carter to reassess his views on Soviet intentions and on American preparedness. Where Carter had seemed to be wavering on Selective Service reform, the Soviet action apparently convinced him to toughen his stance. In his State of the Union message of January, 1980, Carter called for resumption of draft registration, to include women for the first time.

Now everyone got into the act. Hard-liners said he did not go far enough; the draft was needed, not just registration. Those in the opposite camp criticized it as a fateful step toward draft resumption. Among those who applauded it were some women's advocates who saw Carter's proposal as a boost toward equal rights for women.

With these issues swirling around, little attention was given to the Congressionally-mandated report on national service. The report, issued in February, was not very illuminating. In its discussion of national service, it said:

> *Any program that would compete for the same pool of qualified individuals as the military must be viewed as deleterious in its impact on the morale and discipline as well as on the force levels of*

the Armed Forces as currently staffed.[2]

Taken literally, it seemed to me to pose a threat to College Work-Study, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, and other federally supported, non-military programs for young people. Realistically, I think it was simply an attempt to dismiss national service because it was an initiative that Carter did not want to take. I had learned at ACTION that well-paid bureaucrats are often asked to prepare a scholarly analysis in a way that supports an already-established political position. This appeared to be a case study in such an exercise.

A Publishing Overture

In March, a few days before leaving to speak on national service at Washington University, St. Louis, I received a phone call from an assistant professor there named Michael Sherraden. He said that he wanted to write a book on national service. Prof. Morris Janowitz, a mutual friend, had suggested calling me as a possible collaborator.

I was a little skeptical, since I had received other publishing overtures from out of the blue that came to naught, but I agreed to meet with him during my visit.

He met me at the airport. He explained that he had written his doctoral dissertation on the Civilian Conservation Corps and had on various occasions observed the benefits to young people of engaging in constructive service projects. He seemed to have a genuine interest in national service but could give no assurances that anybody would publish our book once it was written.

It was time for another deal. I said that I would write the book with him if he could produce a firm contract with a publisher.

It wasn't easy, but after writing to dozens of publishers, he came up with a contract with Pergamon Press. Soon we were recruiting others to write selected chapters and exchanging draft copies of our work.

It turned out to be a harmonious relationship,

with each of us able to detect weak points that had been overlooked by the other. The result was a book entitled *National Service: Social, Economic and Military Impacts* published by Pergamon Press in 1982.

Alternative Service

In the Spring of 1980, the senior staff – mostly political appointees – of ACTION went on a retreat to discuss the future of the agency. They returned and reported that it was time to think small. Regardless of who was elected President in November, ACTION would be hard pressed to maintain existing programs at current levels. Major efforts were out of the question.

With this gloomy prediction not setting very well in my psyche, I was soon off to Syracuse N.Y. to "testify" on national service before several dozen "senators" – students at the Maxwell School who had been studying national service and the draft.

Also on the panel was Bernard Rostker, whom Carter had appointed several months earlier to head Selective Service. At dinner that evening, Rostker said he was not a supporter of national service but would like to talk with me about working for him. One of his tasks, in addition to registering several million young people in the next few months, was to lay out a new plan for alternative service for Conscientious Objectors.

I was immediately interested. This was partly because I didn't see any future at ACTION, but there were two other reasons. I shared the expectation of many others that a renewed draft was likely. If that happened, the job would be an interesting one. And – equally important – alternative service was an aspect of the total national service picture I thought I should know more about.

Shortly after returning to Washington, I visited Selective Service. I was interviewed by Rostker and his deputy, James Bond. I was happy to see Bond more favorably inclined to national service than his boss.

When they offered me a job, I said I would accept on two conditions. First, I would be free to speak out as a private citizen on national service, as had been

the case at ACTION. Second, they would have to agree to consider seriously the idea of having the federal government pay young men performing alternative service. From what I knew of the experience with alternative service during the Vietnam War and of President Ford's amnesty program that followed it, a peacetime alternative service without federal financial support would be a disaster. They readily agreed to the two conditions.

In August, about ten days before my grandson Nicholas arrived on the scene, I transferred from ACTION to Selective Service.

In fact, Selective Service went beyond its promise. It paid my way to several speaking engagements on national service on the grounds that the topic was relevant to Selective Service. And I later learned that Rostker and Bond were already favorably disposed toward the idea of paying persons in alternative service.

Ronald Reagan's election as President in November of 1980 raised a question mark over the future of national service and of Selective Service, as he was on record as being opposed both to a peacetime draft and to national service. It also raised the larger question as to how he would keep his promise to reduce taxes, balance the budget, and increase military expenditures. By the end of 1980, I did not know how things would turn out – but I was rapidly learning how good it is to be a grandfather.

[Narrative continued on p. 167.]

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A Universal Youth Service

by Donald J. Eberly

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The complementarity of the needs of 3 million unemployed youth age 16 to 24 and society's unmet needs for community and environmental services strongly suggests that a program of universal youth service, in which every youth would be guaranteed the opportunity to serve in a personally meaningful capacity for a specified period of time, for which she or he would receive a stipend, could not only become a cornerstone of national youth policy but could be extremely beneficial to society as a whole. In this article I will examine how such a program worked on the local level when it was tested in the Seattle area beginning in 1973. A description of how it would operate nationally will follow, along with a proposed interim strategy.

A LOCAL YOUTH SERVICE MODEL

The Program for Local Service (PLS), made possible by a million dollar grant from the federal ACTION agency to the state of Washington, was designed to determine the value of community service performed by young people, the types of youth who would apply and become participants, the efficacy of the self-matching process (to be described later), and the benefits of the experience to the participants. Essentially, the program provided for youth volunteers to serve in approved public or nonprofit organizations (called sponsors), for which they would receive a yearly stipend of $2,970 plus full medical coverage and other benefits. Program regulations further specified that the work performed by PLS participants had to be antipoverty in nature and participants could not replace regular employees.

In early 1973 invitations to apply to PLS were sent to an estimated 80 percent of all 18 to 25 year olds (60,000 persons) in the southern portion of Washington's Kings County, including South Seattle and surrounding suburban and rural areas. Special efforts were made to publicize the program in low-income areas. Within two months of the mailing, PLS received 1,694 applications (about 10 percent of those who demonstrated awareness of the program in a survey conducted by telephone four months after the original mailing). The 1,517 applicants deemed eligible on the basis of age, geographic area, and health were invited to join PLS.

With respect to locating community organizations in need of additional service providers, where PLS participants could do meaningful work, approximately 500 potential sponsors were identified in the Seattle area. About half of these applied for PLS volunteers, 34 agencies were found ineligible, and the remaining 221 organizations generated a pool of

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1,200 available positions which were listed in a directory compiled by PLS for use in the self-matching procedure. It was agreed that those organizations which became sponsors of PLS volunteers would contribute $150 per person-year to the cost of the program. No potential sponsors dropped out because of this requirement.

The next step was a one-day orientation session attended by 634 applicants at which the program was described, practice was given in interviewing, and applicants completed one-page resumes. By the end of the session, those applicants still interested reviewed the directory of available positions and made appointments for interviews with three potential sponsoring agencies, according to their preference. "Brokers" and "matchmakers" were available to assist in setting up the appointments and to attend the interviews if requested. Finally, applicants received a voucher and memorandum of agreement which were to be taken to the interviews; there agreements could be negotiated on the basis of the sponsor's needs and the applicant's talents and interests. The agreement spelled out the duties of the participant and the supervisory and training responsibilities of the sponsor.

As interviewing proceeded and agreements were reached between applicants and sponsors, they were returned to the PLS office where each agreement was checked by both program manager and legal counsel for compliance with the law and program regulations. Once an applicant's agreement was certified, he or she was invited to a three-day preservice training session, and the year of service began within a few days. Following this selection procedure, 372 persons (or nearly a quarter of the eligible applicants) became PLS volunteers at 137 sponsoring agencies by June 30, 1973—less than five months after the invitations were sent out. Of particular interest is the fact that the socioeconomic profile of the 372 volunteers is virtually identical to that of the 1,517 eligible applicants. When compared with other young people in the Seattle area, PLS participants were more apt to be female, unmarried, low-income, minority, better educated, and, most distinctively, unemployed and seeking work.

The outcomes of PLS are significant for a consideration of the universal youth service concept. Nearly two-thirds (62 percent) of the PLS participants completed the full year of service. Of those who left, one-third were "fired" for breaking the agreement with the sponsor; another third left for good reasons, such as getting a better job; and the remaining third left for neutral reasons, such as moving away or having a baby.

In an effort to estimate the economic worth of the services performed by PLS participants, sponsors valued the work done at $2.15 million, more than twice the amount of the ACTION grant that funded the program. Benefits to the participants may be considered in this light: at the time of enrollment in the program, 70 percent of the participants were unemployed and looking for work. Not only did they find work through PLS: two-thirds reported that their PLS experience had influenced their career or educational plans; 63 percent rated PLS experience very valuable for fu-

ture employment; and 25 percent said they had received or expected to receive academic credit for their work in PLS.[1]

PLS more than doubled in size the following year with the state paying 40 percent of the budget and the federal government 60 percent. With withdrawal of federal financial support in the third year, PLS declined rapidly in size, as the state was unable to assume the full financial burden.

As an observer of the PLS experience, I found the major lessons for an expanded nationwide program to be:

- ☐ Universal youth service can be justified economically on the basis of the value of service rendered.
- ☐ The benefits to the participant would probably be even greater than the average value of services rendered. These benefits include the greatly increased chance of getting a job and the sense of direction acquired for one's life, as demonstrated by the personal testimonies telling of the richness of the experience.
- ☐ A program in which opportunities for service were universally guaranteed would attract young people from all walks of life, with a somewhat higher proportion of persons who were low-income and unemployed.
- ☐ Universal youth service would become a much needed rite of passage for many young Americans. It would be a time of testing and assuming adult responsibilities.

How do we move from a local program with a few hundred participants to one at the national level with several hundred thousand, possibly as many as a million or more? The next section outlines the governing principles and a model for such a program, and the final section describes immediate steps that can be taken to maximize youth service opportunities.

Various studies suggest that while the need for youth service workers is on the order of 4 to 5 million, the number of openings that could be filled in the next three months is not more than 250,000. It will take some time to translate national or local needs into actual positions with organizations.

A NATIONAL MODEL

Following the local demonstration described above, a nationwide universal youth service (UYS) model can be proposed which would foster the provision of needed human, social, and environmental services and at the same time benefit greatly the development of youth. It would enable them to gain experience in careers of interest to them, offer cross-cultural and out-of-classroom learning expe-

[1] Evaluation data on the Program for Local Service came from a set of reports prepared by Kappa Systems, Inc., under contract to ACTION. The most comprehensive report by Kappa Systems on PLS is "Applying PLS through CETA: A Summary of Programs and Models."

riences, including practical problem solving, working with people, and the acquisition of specific skills, and, not least, imbue youth with a sense of self-worth and community pride. To accomplish these aims requires attention to certain important features of the program.

UYS must truly be open to all young people in the suggested 18 to 24 age group, with a summer service program for 15 to 17 year olds. This age range was not selected according to a particular theory as to when youth begins and ends, but to insure that anyone reaching adulthood has had suitable opportunities to participate in a youth service program. Being truly open also means paying special attention to people who have few skills, are poorly or inadequately educated, are bashful, or don't get along easily with others. Any special services provided should not have the effect of separating these people from others who have the desired skills. For example, persons with few skills may do well at environmental conservation camps where they will serve with college-educated environmentalists and receive necessary training. Persons insufficiently educated with regard to health services may work on health or rescue teams along with persons with more education and experience. Those who are shy may need only the services of a friendly facilitator to assist in the first few interviews en route to finding the right position.

In addition, because seemingly neutral procedures of recruitment and application can develop into overtly or covertly discriminatory practices, the federal government must retain the right of review and have the authority to order rectification.

Successful development of UYS requires a transition period of about three years. The transition period serves two vital functions. First, it allows time for UYS to grow from an idea to a program involving a million or more persons. Various studies suggest that while the need for youth service workers is on the order of 4 to 5 million, the number of openings that could be filled in the next three months is not more than 250,000. It will take some time to translate national or local needs into actual positions with organizations. Another constraint on rapid growth is the size of the supervisory staff. While time demands vary greatly, the typical supervisor may expect to spend two hours per week with the UYS participant, perhaps several hours during the first week or two. Few supervisors can handle more than two or three UYS participants in addition to their regular jobs. This ratio is a limiting factor to agencies' acceptance of UYS participants until the next budget cycle permits the hiring of additional supervisory staff.

Second, the build-up period provides for experimentation within the overall program guidelines. The decentralized administration will permit, even encourage, the states and cities to test a variety of approaches for implementing the goals of UYS. There are many ways, for example, in which UYS participants can derive educational benefits from the UYS experience. These need to be closely watched during the early years of the program to determine which should be incorporated into UYS and to determine the extent to which educational arrangements should remain

flexible.

Participation should be arranged by a contract voluntarily entered into by all parties. The contract would describe the responsibilities of the UYS participant, the supervisor, the sponsoring agency, and the funding agency. This approach would extend the choices open to applicants as well as to sponsors, minimize the possibility of misunderstanding among the parties, and establish a reference point for evaluation of the program.

UYS must be based soundly on the need for having services performed. Most of its potential for youth development would vanish if the work were not needed or if the UYS participants perceived the work to be of no consequence. A mandatory financial contribution by the sponsor, as was done in the PLS, would help to emphasize the worth of their service.

Consideration should be given to offering UYS participants an educational entitlement, a "GI Bill for community service."

Maximum local support of UYS should be encouraged, with underwriting guaranteed by the federal government. Past experience suggests that most cities and states would opt for maximum federal funding. Still, there is much evidence in recent legislation showing that lower levels of government will have discretionary authority over substantial amounts of money for the purpose of meeting social needs. Following the underwriting approach, federal funds would not replace other funds already available, but would be adequate to guarantee service positions to all young people who wanted them. Funds would be administered by state and local governments after being obtained from the federal government through grants. This method has the advantage of fostering local initiative while retaining basic program design.

Persons should be allowed to serve in UYS for no more than four years. A part of the UYS mission is to provide a transition into the world of work, not a lifetime job. However, it would incorporate certain features to facilitate the postservice employment and continuing education of its participants. First, UYS should be a source of information about jobs and education. This information could take the form of newsletters, job information sheets, opportunities for counseling, and referrals to such other agencies and institutions as the employment service and the community education work councils proposed by Willard Wirtz. Second, UYS should certify the work performed by its participant. The certification should be of a descriptive nature, not a judgmental one. Such a certificate should enable the outgoing participants to get beyond the initial hurdle to jobs for which they are qualified. Third, consideration should be given to offering UYS participants an educational entitlement, a "GI Bill for community service," along the lines proposed by Elliot Richardson and Frank Newman in 1972. This could prove a valuable incentive for participation in UYS. Fourth, the Women in Community Service and Joint Action for Commu-

nity Service programs of the Job Corps should be adapted for utilization by UYS. These programs utilize low-income volunteers to recruit, counsel, and place Job Corps enrollees.

PROGRAM COSTS

Payments to participants would consume most of the money spent on UYS. How should the level of payments be determined? If all young people are entitled to serve, the stipends must be sufficient so that nobody is kept out of UYS because of payments below the subsistence level. On the other hand, payments should not be so high as to be competitive with salaries for comparable jobs in the open market, whether in the public or private sector. A third criterion that would be consistent with the service ethic would be to have no payment differentials based on the jobs done, nor on the qualifications of the participants. Variations in stipends would be dictated by the local cost of living and by the provision of such essentials as food and lodging.

Experience with PLS suggests that a benefit package equivalent to the minimum wage (now $4,784 per year for work weeks of 40 hours) is required. When total payments fall below the minimum wage by several hundred dollars, some participants can be expected to dip into their savings, moonlight, borrow money, or resign.

Administrative costs can be held to 15 percent of participant stipends at the beginning of the program and should fall to 10 percent within three years. Several features of UYS lead to this low level of administrative costs: basic supervision and in-service training and transportation costs would be the financial responsibility of the sponsor; preservice orientation and training conducted by the UYS grantee would take only two days at a cost of $100 per trainee; and sponsors would contribute $200 per person-year of service.

Finally, the unforeseeable demands of five or 10 years in the future might be better anticipated if sufficient experimental funds—say, 5 percent of the total UYS budget—were devoted to testing new forms of youth service programs. These could range from Canada's Opportunities for Youth to Israel's several models of youth involvement. The Student Originated Studies program sponsored by the National Science Foundation might serve as a model for youth-initiated projects. Also certain cultural and public works projects falling outside the standard UYS criteria could be tested under the experimental program.

AN INTERIM STRATEGY

Because implementation of a national youth service could be delayed by the two to three years required to create a new agency to administer it, a more immediate strategy would be to use those programs already existing or legislated to serve the youth service functions outlined above. The programs that could be adapted for this purpose are the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), and the Program for Local Service, described above.[2]

YCC is already a cooperative program with responsibility and funding shared equally between the Departments of Agriculture and Interior. It is also a two-tiered program, with

YCC participants engaged in conservation projects both on federal and state lands. YCC would offer the summer service experience for 15 to 17 year olds noted earlier, and also provide information on service opportunities once they reach 18.

YACC[3] would offer full-year service opportunities to 18 to 23 year olds as well as to those 16 to 17 year olds who have completed high school or who have dropped out for reasons unrelated to entering YACC. Like the YCC, it is to be administered by the Departments of Agriculture and Interior and is to undertake conservation projects on both federal and state lands.

An expanded PLS would be the vehicle for two essential functions: (1) to provide community service opportunities locally, and (2) to serve as a recruitment and placement entity for young people wishing to enter the environmental or community service program. With sufficient funding, and the necessary integration among ACTION and the Departments of Interior and Agriculture accomplished by executive order, it would be possible, through these programs, to guarantee service positions to all interested young people.

A second tier of federal programs can also assist in the development of UYS. The humanpower programs of the Department of Labor, funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, can provide supervisors and trainers for persons in PLS, YACC, and YCC. The juvenile justice and law enforcement programs of the Department of Justice can be tapped by PLS sponsors to provide supervisors as well as the sponsor's $200 contribution. The same is true of various programs in the Departments of Commerce, Housing and Urban Development, and Health, Education and Welfare. This dynamic tension among federal funding sources will help to preserve accountability, for each of the funding sources will want to see its purposes accomplished.

In conclusion, it must be remembered that if we continue to procrastinate in dealing with the problem of youth unemployment, there is a good chance that a crash program which is hurriedly assembled and inefficiently managed will be imposed out of necessity. The interim model for a universal youth service proposed here can serve as a test of the UYS concept in beginning to address the problem of youth unemployment, among others. The assessment and refinement of the model over a three-year period can be used to frame full legislative authority for the successful implementation of a universal youth service in this country. ■

[2] Even after the inception of the UYS program, the Peace Corps, VISTA, Teacher Corps, College Work Study Program, Job Corps and youth corps programs funded by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act would remain in effect. After three years of UYS operation, all these programs should be examined to determine the extent to which their functions can be consolidated.

[3] The YACC passed the House on May 25, 1976 by a vote of 291-70. The Senate tabled the bill on September 15, 1976.

Criteria for Service-Learning Programs

[Reprinted from *Service-Learning: A Background Paper, Bibliography and Resource Guide*, ACTION Pamphlet 3530.1.]

Experience with service-learning programs suggests a set of criteria that may be useful to persons considering the introduction of service-learning programs. The suggested criteria follow:

Whatever may be the action part of a service-learning experience, it must be a meaningful activity for the agency involved and must be seen to be a meaningful activity by the participant.

This means that the service-learning participant must usually play some role in project definition and always in project assignment. Perhaps he will carry it out from conception to execution. More likely he will come in at a stage where the agency has a variety of briefly described positions, and the participant, in discussion with the agency officials, adds shape and substance to the activity he will undertake.

The service-learning experience must be designed so as to offer promise of a successful experience by the service-learning participant.

Success is important in building the participants' self-confidence. The main factors to watch for here are level of competence and duration of assignment. In order to grow, the participant should be asked to perform at a somewhat higher level than he has in the past, but the assignment must not be so difficult as to be impossible of accomplishment by the participant. Likewise with duration. A one-to-

one assignment should not be ended just as the service-learning participant gets to know the person he is working with. While some projects are never finished, there should be expectation of reasonable closure within the assigned period of time.

Academic credit, when given for a service-learning experience, must be awarded only on the basis of the learning acquired.

This is not said from any sense of credit as something sacred. Intrinsically, it is as worthless as a dollar bill. But, like the dollar bill, credit is a form of academic currency; if we try to re-value it, we will probably end up spending more time discussing credit than service-learning.

The evidence that learning has been acquired may be given in many forms; behavioristically, verbally, on paper, film, tape, graphically, artistically. The persons responsible for judging the award of credit should be associated with educational institutions.

Payment, when given, must be made for services rendered.

Both the origin of the funds and the decision on payment should be identified with the recipient of services. If someone is serving in a hospital, for example, he should be paid by the hospital from money received by patients or the health department. He should not be paid with education money, for if he is, the service part of service-learning would be in danger of degenerating into make-work efforts. Payment should not be considered essential. One recent study suggests that unpaid students gained more in terms of job training and work experience than paid students.

In the service-learning program, service-learning options must be open to all high school age persons.

This criterion carries a number of implications. For the unemployed high school dropout, it means that some form of payment be given in return for services rendered; that someone, probably a high school teacher, must help the dropout translate his experience into learning; and that some institution, most likely the high school, must make provision for recognition of this service-learning experience.

For the college-bound youth, it means the provision of part-time positions, probably unpaid, in which participants can gain maturity.

The middle group may demand the widest array of service-learning options. Some will require full-time positions, others part-time; some will need stipends, others not; some will require academic recognition; some will need specially designed academic programs.

Also, there will have to be adequate training, supervision, transportation and coordination among the several parties.

Also, service-learning experiences must be graded, not so much by age as by previous experience. Operating the Xerox machine is OK for one's first service-learning office experience but not for subsequent ones.

"High school age" may be defined as the community wishes. It will probably vary from 15-18 to 13-19. To identify the high school age group does not mean to restrict it to this group. Hopefully, service-learning opportunities will exist for persons at both sides of the age spectrum.

The following sectors of a community must be involved in the development and operation of a service-learning program:

1. *Formal education*
2. *Local government*
3. *Business and labor*
4. *Students and non-student youth*
5. *Community service*

It is premature, and likely always will be, to ascribe to the several sectors particular roles, apart from the obvious ones. The focal point for a service-learning program could be in a high school, city hall, the chamber of commerce, the student association or the voluntary action center. Wherever it may be, the program will fail to serve all interested young people unless properly articulated. This articulation will be much easier to achieve if all parties are involved in the formulation and development of a service-learning program, instead of waiting until the program is launched.

Statement of Hon. Andrew Young, U.S. Representative in Congress, 5th Congressional Dist. of Georgia:
Youth Unemployment Hearing before the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the U.S., 94th Congress, 2nd Session, U.S. Govt. Printing Office

Representative YOUNG. I don't know that the kind of voluntary youth service that I am talking about would be possible under an administration that did not believe in young people, that did not have a high sense of idealism and challenge about the role of Government in maintaining order and stability and direction in our society. There is a sense in which the Government is the protector and provider and father figure for young people. Many of them are young people whose fathers were dislocated or lost in an almost 25-year period of war. That gives us a kind of responsibility for this young generation that I think cannot be ignored. And I would hope that this committee would begin to move in the direction of Congresswoman Chisholm's suggestions for a Youth Unemployment Act. But more important, that you would take a serious look at a comprehensive voluntary youth service with a broad range of vocational and training opportunities to help our young people participate creatively in this society.

Chairman HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Congressman Young. We appreciate it.

We will just go down the line with my colleagues if it is agreeable, and then we will do the questioning after the witnesses have all made their statements.

Representative YOUNG. May I be excused, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman HUMPHREY. Yes. I know you are busy, Congressman. Before you are excused I will ask if any other members have any questions to put to you.

Representative REUSS. I will wait and see him over in the House.

Representative MOORHEAD. I want to talk about this Comprehensive Youth Voluntary Service Act. I think you are on the right track there.

Chairman HUMPHREY. The whole purpose of this hearing, Congressman Young—as you know, we are not a legislative committee—is to focus attention to the issue. What is so appalling to me is that there is so little public attention on the proposed remedy for what is now a national disaster. This is not an ordinary problem. I had to make a judgment as to whether we could take time to hold these hearings. Actually in the Senate we are not supposed to be holding hearings. We are going to hold them anyway on this issue. There seems to be such a lack of attention to this dreadful social cancer that is eating at our society. And I just want to stimulate some discussion of the Chisholm bill and others.

I am not going to keep you any longer, except that we would like to explore with you, and we will ask members of the staff, to explore with you your proposal.

Representative YOUNG. I will be glad to submit a draft of just some preliminary ideas along this line to the committee staff and to the committee. I will get it to you in the next week or so.

Chairman HUMPHREY. And we will contact you. Thank you very much.

[The information referred to follows:]

At the conclusion of my testimony, Mr. Chairman, you expressed interest in my proposal for a national voluntary youth service and asked for more details. The plan I would like to submit for your consideration is that put forward by Donald J. Eberly, Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat, at the Hyde Park Conference on Universal Youth Service in April of this year. I participated in that conference and believe that Mr. Eberly's plan is a realistic, positive proposal for addressing the problem of youth unemployment.

I also want to say a word about the cost of national voluntary youth service. The enrollment of one million young people, the figure estimated by both Mr. Eberly and Dr. Bernard Anderson, would mean a budget of some $5 billion per year. Where will the money come from? I suggest to the Joint Economic Committee that it calculate the sum of Federal moneys being spent to support young people that would not be spent if they were receiving the minimum wage as members of a national voluntary youth service. Probably the major programs to consider are unemployment compensation, the summer youth program and various welfare programs. When this analysis is made, I think we shall find that the amount of new money required to operate national voluntary youth service would be substantially below its $5 billion cost.

The following excerpts from Mr. Eberly's paper refer to a program of Universal Youth Service (UYS) and to the Program for Local Service (PLS), an experimental national service program conducted by the ACTION agency.

OPERATION OF UYS

The process of initially identifying UYS sponsors and participants may best be described by imagining that we are in a city or state that has just received a UYS grant. Let us trace the process first for young people and then for the sponsoring agencies.

Young people learn of UYS from numerous sources, including word-of-mouth, newspapers, radio, television, schools, colleges, youth clubs, and religious groups. Where mailing lists are available persons from 18 to 24 are sent information packets on UYS. Elsewhere, intensive efforts are made to make the packets easily available through a variety of channels.

(By the second year of UYS, many 18-year-olds will become acquainted with UYS through participation in the modified Youth Conservation Corps. These YCC camps are residential, 8-week summer camps with from 100 to 200 persons at each site. Each camp has these features:

The major part of the time is devoted to performing needed conservation and community services.

Some time is devoted to giving necessary training to the young people and to reflecting with them on what they have learned from their service experience.

The participants are informed of their options under UYS when they reach the age of 18.

Each camp has a socio-economic mix of young people which reflects the population of the surrounding area.)

A simple, one-page application form is included in the information kit. Persons interested in joining UYS complete the form and send it to the local center for processing. By return mail the applicant receives an invitation to attend a one-day orientation session to be held within one month.

For applicants who haven't yet decided which branch of UYS to join, further information and counseling is available at the orientation session. Also, pending legal and medical problems are reviewed at this time and a determination is

made as to whether the application can proceed or has to await resolution of such problems. Each qualifying applicant completes a one-page resume and receives a voucher and agreement form.

The resume serves as an introduction to the potential sponsors and describes the applicant's educational background, work experience and interests.

The voucher guarantees a certain level of financial support and health care by the U.S. government in return for the performance of needed services by the applicant and compliance with the regulations by both applicant and sponsor.

The agreement form provides space for the applicant and sponsor to spell out the duties of the applicant, the training and supervisory responsibilities of the sponsor, and other particulars relevant to the job.

Next, applicants have direct access to a computer terminal where they compile a list of positions which interest them. Applicants then receive brief training in interview techniques and make appointments for one or more interviews with sponsors. Normally, officials from the Environmental Program are available at the orientation session. Agreements may be completed and the voucher signed and certified by the end of the day. For persons seeking positions with Community Service agencies, it may take several days to complete a round of interviews leading to agreement between applicant and sponsor.

The final agreement states the date of beginning service and provisions for training and transportation. UYS normally provides for one day of training on administrative matters.

Work-related training is the responsibility of the sponsor and is given as part of the service period unless otherwise provided for in the agreement.

Sponsors are recruited in a somewhat similar fashion to that used for participants. Sponsorship is universally open to public and private non-profit agencies. Sponsors may request UYS participants for positions meeting certain criteria:

No displacement of employees.
No political nor religious activities.
No use of firearms.

The sponsor certifies that it is prepared to contribute $200 per man-year of service and to provide the necessary supervision and in-service training. Also, the sponsor agrees to participate in a one-day training session before receiving any UYS participants.

Sponsors' requests are open to public review for a period of one week. Where challenges are made, the grantee investigates them and makes a determination. Those position descriptions which successfully pass through this process are entered into a computer listing, where they are immediately accessible to UYS applicants in the area. It is from this listing that applicants set up interviews and the agreement process goes forward.

Should there be more than negligible abuse of this clearance process, it would be necessary to set up formal review committees, including union officials, to pass on each application for a UYS participant.

Decisions affecting the retention or dismissal of UYS participants have to be made individually, with extenuating circumstances given due weight. Still, guidelines are needed.

The guiding principle is the participant's willingness to serve. The written agreement spells out the duties and responsibilities of both participant and supervisor. The participant who is repeatedly late for work or neglectful of agreed-upon duties appears to be giving a clear signal of an absence of a willingness to serve. Dismissal seems to be in order. By contrast, another participant simply cannot master an assigned job even while making every effort to do so. Here, an in-service training program or a lower-level job, accompanied by a renegotiated contract, is indicated.

When sponsoring organizations fail to live up to the terms of the agreement, the participant is assisted in securing another placement and the sponsoring organization is removed from the computer listing. Participants who are dismissed for failing to comply with the terms of the agreement are normally ineligible for re-enrollment in UYS.

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT 4.8.78

Only one goal in it

For Cuban children and students the terms 'work' and 'service' are synonymous. Donald Eberly records his impressions after a week's visit to Cuba on an educational study mission

The Cuban commitment to "experiential" education appears to be exceeded only by its commitments to Marxism-Leninism and the continuing revolution. The revolution transcends everything.

It did not end with the military victory on January 1, 1959. The revolution also includes the war on prostitution, the war on illiteracy, the Bay of Pigs battle, the campaign against polio, the sugar cane harvest, universal education, economic development, and the implementation of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The long-range goal is creation of the 21st Century man.

It appears that Cubans are free to speak and to do things so long as their statements and actions do not come into conflict with the revolution. Thus, Olympic champions Juantorena and Stevenson could compete in the Olympics under the Cuban flag, but to become professionals would be to place the individual before the revolution.

The combination of work and study has become an integral part of the revolution since the war on illiteracy in 1961 reduced the illiteracy rate from 27 per cent to less than five per cent. Some 100,000 teenage student volunteers made up the backbone of the campaign.

As brigade after brigade of these youthful teachers went forth from their training camps, Fidel Castro told them: "You are going to teach, but as you teach, you will also learn. You are going to learn much more than you can possibly teach, and in the end you will feel as grateful to the *campesinos* as the *campesinos* will feel to you for teaching them to read and write."

(A similar balance between service and learning has also been found among Peace Corps Volunteers, the first of whom also went forth in 1961. In attempting to quantify the service and learning dimensions of the Peace Corps, a 1969 study by the Stanford Research Institute found that returned volunteers estimated that they learned 50 per cent more than they contributed in service.)

In Cuba, there was evidence of a fairly sensible gradation of service work. Children in early primary school do gardening and rake leaves. In the later primary years, they pack tea. In early secondary school, the students work on farming projects and sewing clothes and making baseballs.

By the later secondary years, students are often able to undertake service projects related to their study and career interests: they may serve as museum guides and radio assemblers. The linkages appear to be well established at post-secondary institutes and at the university. Technical students at teacher training colleges do practice teaching. University students work in their respective fields.

Unlike the United Kingdom, where there is a clear distinction between jobs and community service in the Manpower Services Commission's new Youth Oppor-

tunities Programme, the terms "work" and "service" are synonymous in Cuba. Whether a Cuban student is harvesting sugar cane, paving a sidewalk, or treating patients in a polyclinic, he or she is serving the nation and the goals of the revolution.

The outcomes and assessment of the learning acquired from the service experience in Cuba appear to vary directly with the level of education. In the early years, the emphasis is on inculcating the work ethic. The Cuban leaders want students not only to appreciate the dignity of work, but also to see it as necessary to the success of the revolution.

The assessment is based essentially on behaviour. Children who scorn their work assignments or those of others are seen to be in need of special counselling aimed at getting them to appreciate work.

Children in the early years of school are also introduced to the concept of *emulacion*. At first glance, *emulacion* seems to be identical with the idea of competition, as one group strives to outdo another and as one individual tries to score better than others in work, study and sports activities.

But Cubans go to great lengths to deny that *emulacion* is equivalent to competition. I came away with the impression that the difference between the two is the absence of an opponent in *emulacion*. Whether it is packaging tea or swimming a 100-metre race, each team or individual tries to come out ahead. But having done their best, they will rejoice in someone else's victory, because the sum total will represent a greater contribution to the revolution.

The practice of *emulacion* for the success of the revolution answers several questions about experiential education in Cuba. Why do students engage in service projects? How do students view their participation in such projects? What is the reaction of trade union leaders to student service projects?

In the United Kingdom, the service motivations and perspectives cover a wide spectrum. In Cuba, students engage in service projects in order to meet the goals of the revolution. Their own participation is viewed against a standard of how well they are serving the revolution.

Trade unionists are not worried about wage depression resulting from student labour, since wages are fixed. Nor are they worried about unemployment, since there is a labour shortage in Cuba. They see student labour as a way to teach good work habits, as furthering goals needed for economic development, and, therefore, as a contribution to the realization of the goals of the revolution.

The transition between part-time and full-time study service takes place for many young people at secondary school level. Those who attend residential schools, or secondary schools in the countryside, have a fairly rigorous work programme every school day.

Those who attend secondary schools while living at home normally spend a 45-day period each year in the country on some kind of service project, often harvesting. This ensures intensive work experiences, as well as opportunities for ideological immersion away from the influences of the home and neighbourhood.

Ideological considerations apart, the Cuban theory and practice of work and study has to be given high marks. It is a universal programme with graduated levels and kinds of involvement. However, the mutual reinforcement of the service and learning activities could be more imaginative, especially at secondary level. Students could have a greater number of work options; they could enter into learning contracts; and they could be encouraged to raise issues based on their work experiences.

The Cuban commitment to work and study facilitates advance planning, and, one must think, inspires confidence among children and young people that they can expect to play a useful role in society. The question is whether the Marxist-Leninist ideology is a necessary ingredient of the programme.

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1981–1988

Alternative Service
Fostering Local Service Initiatives
A Coalition is Formed

The Reagan years were financially good years for rich people. Taxes were reduced and big profits were made from unprecedented peacetime military expenditures. Some observers characterized young people as the "Me" generation since the attitude of the majority of college freshmen shifted from wanting to help others to wanting to make money. Their career patterns shifted away from teaching and into business. The status of the United States as the world's greatest economic power eroded as we became a major debtor nation and incurred record peacetime deficits.

* * *

The Reagan Impact

Ronald Reagan assumed the Presidency in 1981. He promised to strengthen the military, reduce taxes and balance the budget. Many observers believed it would be intrinsically impossible to meet these three goals during the decade.

I looked at the Reagan plan from a national service viewpoint. I thought he would be caught in a bind in one of two ways: either he would try to meet his balanced budget goal by making little or no increase in military pay, leading to failure in meeting military recruitment goals and to subsequent pressure to return to the draft; or he would permit military pay scales to rise to whatever level was necessary to achieve military quotas, thereby leading to accusations of a mercenary force and calls for a return to the draft or lower force levels. All the while, youth unemployment would remain high, so that pressure for some kind of youth jobs or service program would continue. In an attempt to place national service in the context of these issues, I wrote an article that appeared in the

As it happened, youth unemployment did remain high during the Reagan years but public and political pressure to alleviate the situation did not. Reagan did make big increases in the military budget but not in the force levels. He made substantial increases in military pay but paid for them, as he did many other things, with record budget deficits. Also, the casualties suffered by the armed services in such places as Lebanon and the Persian Gulf, combined with the public display of pathos by President and Mrs. Reagan after each event, probably helped to stifle potential accusations of a mercenary force.

The understanding I had with Rostker and Bond, which they lived up to in every respect, went by the boards when they were replaced by President Reagan's appointees. My campaign within Selective Service to pay alternative service workers with federal money was going nowhere. Eventually the new head of Selective Service, Gen. Thomas Turnage, formally declared that the idea was to be dropped.

I never heard Gen. Turnage, either in public or in private, deviate from the official line that Conscientious Objectors were to be treated with fairness and equity. But I did hear quite a few military men – active duty, retired and reserves – at Selective Service deviate from that line. That alternative service workers might receive a government check every month, just like soldiers do, was an idea they could not accept.

If a peacetime draft and alternative service system is reinstituted, it will have to be modified to be workable. I expect Selective Service would either adopt government payments to those in alternative service, or return to the old system in which religious groups and others closely identified with Conscientious Objectors were given a bigger say in administering the program than they would have under current regulations.

If national service with an option plan is introduced, many potential COs will simply take the civilian option and the number of official COs will be quite small. A peacetime draft without a civilian service option would likely lead to de facto national service

within ten years of its introduction.

"To Be a CO, or Not To Be..."

One of my more interesting projects at Selective Service was to study the desirability and feasibility of permitting young men to check a box on the draft registration form if they believed themselves to be COs.

It seemed pretty sensible to me, since it would give Selective Service an estimate of the proportion of CO applicants to expect if the draft were reinstituted. Then, as I examined the issue, I concluded that many registrants would likely switch their positions if they were called for the draft. The decision to check off, or not check off, a CO box at the time of registration with no draft in effect is almost trivial compared with the decision to seek, or not to seek, CO status when one is about to be drafted. Besides, I was satisfied that the rights of applicants who might eventually claim CO status were as well protected without the check-off box as they were with it.

Several of my colleagues were opposed to a check-off box for a very different reason. They feared that a large number of registrants – 15% or more – would check the box and it would raise questions about the ability of the United States to conscript a peacetime armed force. Since a proportion of that size would also bring the issue of national service to the fore, some of my colleagues were surprised when I concluded that a check-off box was not needed.

Eleanor Roosevelt and National Service

I continued to study national service and speak my mind on the subject. At the Eleanor Roosevelt Centennial Conference in 1984, I presented a paper entitled "Eleanor Roosevelt and Universal Youth Service." In doing research for this paper, I learned how closely my ideas for youth service resembled hers. As drawn from her letters and other sources, I compiled this list of ingredients that Eleanor Roosevelt would have included in her youth service program:

The work was to be service oriented.
It was to be voluntary.
It was to be open to males and females.
It was to be residential.
Enrollments would be for two years.
The work would be done under the aegis of public agencies or nonprofit organizations.
Compensation would provide for subsistence living with an additional stipend going to the families of volunteers.
The program should capture the imagination of young people the way a popular war did.
It would be separate from military training.
It was to be a form of civic education.
Participants would deal directly with those most in need.
The program would relieve the problem of youth unemployment while providing quality work experiences.
It would be well organized.[1]

This study was one of many experiences that has convinced me that national service belongs, not as a short-term answer to a current problem like the draft was in the 1960s and youth unemployment was a decade later, but as a cornerstone of the nation's youth policy.

My position on women in national service was behind that of such advocates as Eleanor Roosevelt and Margaret Mead and probably a little ahead of that of the general population. An opportunity to offer my views on this topic arose in 1983, when I was asked to present a paper on it at a conference in Chicago that October.

I was working on the paper when our second grandchild arrived. It was a girl, Anna Louise. Then, a few days before my scheduled departure for Chicago, I developed eyesight problems and had an emergency operation for a detached retina. I did not recover in time to go to Chicago but my paper was completed and a summary was presented at the conference. The paper appears on p. 195.

At the same conference, I had also organized a

panel on "The Impact of Universal Voluntary National Service on the All-Volunteer Force." My friend Charles Moskos chaired it in my absence.

Jurgen Kuhlmann from the Institute der Bundeswehr in Munich described the alternative service program for Conscientious Objectors in West Germany. It was particularly instructive for the American scene because what had begun as a small alternative service program for Conscientious Objectors was evolving into something very close to national service.

When the West German military draft of young men resumed in the mid-50s, Conscientious Objectors were allowed to perform non-military service only if they could convince a tribunal of the sincerity of their convictions. The number of CO applicants between 1958 and 1965 ranged from one to two percent of the age group. Then it started climbing and has remained somewhat above ten percent since 1973. A few years later, the requirement to appear before a tribunal was dropped. The young man who signs a statement that he is a CO is virtually assured of being given CO status. For all practical purposes, young West German men may choose between military service with a fifteen month commitment, and civilian service with a twenty month commitment.

A Policy Reversal

Once Reagan appointees had taken over Selective Service, there was a 180° reversal of policy on my national service activities. Now I not only had to pay my own way to national service events, I also had to take annual leave to attend them. By the summer of 1984, I had taken fourteen days of annual leave for national service purposes – more than half my entitlement for that year. I was consuming leave faster than I was earning it. Soon I would have to decide whether to reduce my national service involvement or leave Selective Service.

Two of my leave days were spent with officials of the Education Commission of the States (ECS). An ECS official asked me to meet with him and a representative of Virginia's Gov. Charles Robb, the incoming chairman of ECS. We had a good discussion. They concluded I

should meet with the governor in Richmond.

So I drove to Richmond one summer day. I had a fine visit with the governor. A few weeks later he made his inaugural speech as chairman of ECS, promising to promote national service as one of his major initiatives.

Robb followed through on his promise by making youth service the theme of a 1985 meeting of the ECS Business Advisory Commission. Later that year he also led ECS in its establishment of the Campus Compact, a collaborative effort with a number of colleges to encourage community service by college students.

Another two days were spent helping to launch the Minnesota Youth Service Initiative. James Kielsmeier, founder and head of the National Youth Leadership Council, had organized a coalition of several dozen Minnesotans to work on a statewide youth service corps and asked me to give the keynote speech at the meeting of the coalition in September. They worked steadily and sensibly. Early in 1988, Gov. Rudy Perpich announced plans to proceed with a Minnesota Youth Service Corps funded at $1 million for the first year.

Departure from Government

Two other events in 1984 were significant to this narrative. The World Future Society had asked me to organize a panel on national service for its annual conference. Knowing of his interest in national service, I called Franklin Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation, and asked him to participate in the panel.

He accepted straightaway and asked me what I thought of his memo of a month or two earlier on national service.

I said I had not seen it.

Thomas seemed surprised and promised to send me a copy.

The memo arrived a few days later. I was happy to see the National Service Secretariat mentioned as one of the organizations the Foundation might support if it decided to pursue a national service initiative. This opened the door to the possibility that I might leave Selective Service and still be able to feed my family.

The door opened even further in April when my mother died. As the co-executor of her estate, I knew that I would inherit enough money to bring me fairly close to being able to bridge the gap financially between then (I was 56) and six years later when I would become eligible for Social Security and my government pension. I wouldn't have any money to spend on national service, but I would be free to devote my time to it.

It turned out that Thomas had to be in London at the time of the World Future Society Conference. However, he sent an aide, Gordon Berlin, who invited me to submit a proposal for financial support.

In my experience with foundations, I had never been turned down when they had asked for a proposal. Hence, I was fairly confident of receiving Ford support and, all things considered, I reckoned I would be able to resign from Selective Service by the end of the year if I obtained a grant of at least $25,000. However, I was hoping for about ten times that much – enough to have an office in downtown Washington with a small staff.

That hope was not realized. I learned in November that I was to receive a grant of $25,000 from Ford. I notified Selective Service that I would resign at the end of December.

A Bedroom Becomes an Office

The Secretariat had previously occupied part of a room; now, with my wife's permission, it took over a former bedroom. With some of the Ford money, I bought equipment and supplies.

Much of 1985 was spent re-establishing ties with people I had worked with in earlier years on national service, and in meeting others who, because of speeches they made or positions they held, seemed like prospective players in the field of national service.

The expenditures of the Secretariat had averaged $45,000 per year for the period from mid-1966 to early 1969, when we had paid staff members. From 1970-84 they averaged $530 per year. That paid for printing and distributing the *Newsletter* to several hundred readers, maintaining contact with members of the National Service Advisory Board and others with strong interests

in national service, as well as answering requests for information. During the periods when ACTION and Selective Service were favorably disposed toward national service, they paid for my travel to attend meetings and make speeches about national service. However, I always took leave whenever I testified on national service before a Congressional committee.

I must say I found it refreshing to be able to schedule weekday appointments as a representative of the National Service Secretariat. It was also good to be able to do things that could not be done only evenings and weekends. For example, one day *USA Today* called and asked for an article on national service right away. The piece on p. 175 was ready when the messenger came for it a few hours later. I learned from the head of the Washington Service Corps – a state-wide youth service program based on the Program for Local Service – that the measure was voted on a few days later by the state legislature. Copies of the article were given to each legislator and evidently influenced some votes. It passed.

Ideas Are Percolating

The new freedom also gave me a chance to develop ideas that had been percolating for a while. I thought it might be useful to illustrate the several dimensions of national service by describing the parties to be benefited and then estimating the values of these benefits in known programs. The result is the article on p. 205. Of course, the benefits do not lend themselves to precise valuations but the matrix on p. 213 is intended to invite the reader:

(1) to consider more than one dimension of national service, and

(2) to make his own estimates for youth service programs with which he is familiar.

Another idea that came to fruition was a videotape on national service. After having been turned down by several foundations, I approached a professor at Ameri-

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DONALD EBERLY
Guest columnist

Youth national service can meet many needs

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WASHINGTON — Should a peacetime military draft be reinstated, it will surely be accompanied by that old refrain, "Who serves when not all serve?"

In the search for an equitable draft, there will be calls for universal national service, in which all young men, and possibly young women, would serve their country either in a military or civilian capacity.

What would national service look like in one's own town? A current illustration is found in Seattle, where 20-year-old Patricia Gustafson was recently made a member of the National Senior Citizen Hall of Fame for her service to the elderly.

As a member of the Washington Service Corps, receiving pay and benefits of $510 a month, she helped 16 old people with their housekeeping chores. Without such help, they would not have been able to live in their own homes, which would have resulted in a $3,250 monthly cost to the state.

Gustafson and the Washington Service Corps are good examples of national service in action. It is a cost-effective way in which young people deliver important services and, in the process, gain work experience and test possible careers.

Regardless of what happens with the military draft, a large-scale voluntary national service is needed today: There are many more old folks facing institutionalization than those 16 in Seattle. There are infants needing quality day care and latchkey children needing supervision. Our conservation and environmental problems are accumulating faster than they are being solved.

There are large numbers of young people who are unable to find work, who have little idea of why they are in college, or who enter the underworld of crime for lack of a constructive alternative. National service would bring the energy, talent, and dedication of young people to work on a variety of national and community needs.

Yet today the USA is failing to meet these needs and failing to engage these resources. While we employ 1 million young people aged 18 to 24 in the armed forces, we employ less than 4,000 young people in the Peace Corps and Vista. With required registration for a military draft, but without voluntary national service, the USA is telling its young people they are not needed except for possible military service.

If the USA asked young people to contribute a year of their lives to national service and if we supported them in the modest manner Gustafson was supported by the Washington Service Corps, in a few years there would be about the same number of young people in civilian service as in military service.

By making it possible for young people to invest in their country today, we can expect them to be good stewards tomorrow.

Donald Eberly is executive director of the National Service Secretariat.

can University's School of Communications. Soon I was working with Robin Noonan, a graduate student of his, and several other students. By late 1985, the Secretariat had a fourteen-minute videotape, "The National Service Alternative." As a result of the videotape, the professor awarded Robin credit for her master's dissertation.

Also, I started an annual Youth Service Survey to count the number of 18-24 year olds in full-time, year-round civilian youth service. Most such persons in the 1960s and 1970s could be found in such federally-mandated programs as alternative service, the Peace Corps, VISTA and the Young Adult Conservation Corps. Alternative service ended in the mid-70s. The YACC lasted only from 1977 to 1982; by 1984 the number of 18-24 year olds in the Peace Corps and VISTA had fallen to approximately 3,000. The number of federally-supported participants was being overtaken by the number in several dozen state and local initiatives. Most of these efforts started during the 1980s and have been a healthy development, helping to keep the spirit alive and testing a variety of youth service designs. However, their tendencies to level off at only a few hundred enrollees suggest how unlikely it is that, without federal assistance, they will achieve a magnitude comparable to the potential of national service. A write-up on the Youth Service Survey appears on p. 219.

Support for State and Local Efforts

I gave encouragement and advice to quite a few of the state and local efforts. I made several trips to Minnesota to work with Jim Kielsmeier and others on the design of the Minnesota Youth Service Corps. I talked frequently with Jean Sadowsky of the New York City Planning Commission as she was putting together a youth service plan at the request of Mayor Ed Koch. It became the New York City Volunteer Corps.

Sometimes I was providing assistance for local youth service initiatives without knowing it. David Battey visited one day with several other Williams College students, as they were writing a long national service paper for a course in political economy. A year

or two later, Battey formed the Youth Volunteer Corps of Kansas City.

Michael Brown and Alan Khazei came another day as Congressional interns whose sponsors were interested in national service. A couple of years later, they and several colleagues were putting together City Year, a youth service program in Boston.

To get the word out to mayors and city administrators, I submitted an article to *Nation's Cities Weekly* in which I wrote that national service, long thought to be the preserve of the federal government, "is emerging as a serious local policy option." I went on to outline the following steps to be taken by persons interested in a youth service initiative:

- Form an advisory group of young people, representatives of service agencies, union and education officials, and other interested parties.

- Ask young people to conduct a survey of community needs which could be met by young people.

- Look for multiple-funding – from local tax money, from federal programs, from local businesses and foundations, from the agencies where young people will serve.

- Begin small but look toward a goal of permitting all who want to serve to do so.

- Expect to spend at least $8,000 per work year of service, more if there are add-ons such as educational fellowships.

- Develop a broad enough array of service projects from the beginning so that young people from all walks of life can serve.

- Tell the participants that they may expect to serve the full time as long as they demonstrate a willingness to serve, but they may expect to be fired if they fail to do so.[2]

One day I had a call from an aide to Rep. Leon Panetta. I had known Panetta since the late 1970s when he had invited me to speak on national service in his district in California. Now he wanted to introduce a national service bill that was appropriate for the times and had a chance of passage.

I suggested a fairly modest approach in view of the fact that Reagan had recently vetoed a bill that would have established an American Conservation Corps. I suggested a bill offering 50-50 matching grants to states and localities with youth service programs. It would have supported some two dozen programs then in existence and would have been an incentive for the formation of others.

Panetta introduced the bill. The first hearing on it was conducted in the City Hall of New York City in September, 1985. It was reintroduced in the next session of Congress and, in 1988, was merged with Rep. Morris Udall's bill for an American Conservation Corps. The resulting bill for a National Youth Service incorporated the main features of both bills and carried a price tag of $152 million. Supporters did not expect it to be enacted in 1988 because of the Presidential elections, a tight legislative calendar, and the likelihood of a Reagan veto. The hope was that it would be in a good position for passage in 1989 and that whoever was elected President would sign it.

Fund-Raising

My fund-raising activities shifted from foundations to businesses in 1985. I had made inquiries or sent proposals to about sixty of the foundations that seemed to me the most likely sources of support. All except the Ford proposal had been in vain. Even the Ford money was not given to the Secretariat; it was funneled through the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute which then sent it on to me as a consultant.

My earlier effort to raise money from businesses – in the late 1960s – revealed them as being quite parochial. Their contributions went to non-controversial activities that would either foster their aims as businesses or that were located in the areas where their

employees lived.

By 1985 most of the businesses I tried had offices of corporate giving. The people who staffed them talked just like foundation officials. Their favorite replies were, "Everything is on hold because we are reviewing our priorities" or, "Our money for this year is fully committed" or, "We only give to local efforts, not a national one like yours."

Once after an official made that last statement, I mentioned a national program that his corporation was supporting.

"Oh, that's a favorite cause of the chairman of the board," he replied.

One businessman made a personal gift to the Secretariat but we received nothing from corporations.

The Coalition for National Service

My frustration with fund-raising was a factor in one of our more successful initiatives, the Coalition for National Service. I pretty much concluded that I would not again have an office downtown nor would I be able to implement most of those expansive ideas I had described in my money-raising proposals. One of those ideas had been to assemble a number of leading educators, businessmen and others to endorse national service and to take the lead, with money as well as time and effort, in their respective localities to set up youth service programs. The goal would be to advance from less than 10,000 young people in full-time constructive service activities then (1985) to 100,000 by 1990. It would be done in a way that the federal government could become a major partner. However, since President Reagan had vetoed the bill for an American Conservation Corps in 1984, I did not see that happening at least until he left office in 1989.

I subtracted the dollars from this idea and came up with a Coalition for National Service that would:

(a) support state and local youth service initiatives,

(b) encou[illegible]e discussion of national service, and

(c) endorse a 10-point statement of principles for national service.

Except for a few changes to bring it up to date, the 10-point statement was the same as the one I had put together in 1970 (see page 116 of "A National Service Pilot Project").

Another reason for the Coalition was the same as that which had led to the 10-point statement in the first place. Several versions of the national service idea were floating around, most notably four theoretical models posited by Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton in *National Service: What Would It Mean?* (Lexington Books, 1985). It got to the point that on a radio talk show or after a speech I would be asked a question premised on the assumption that I supported one of their models just because it was called national service!

The 10-point statement establishes what I think is a good framework for national service while leaving considerable room for experimentation and refinement within the framework.

Again I made a deal with myself. I would invite twelve well-known people to join the Coalition. If half of them did, it would be launched.

Ten of the twelve had accepted by late September. I announced the Coalition on October 1, 1986.

Among the early members of the Coalition were:

Derek Bok, president of Harvard University
Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Council for the Advancement of Teaching
Amitai Etzioni, the sociologist
Donald M. Fraser, mayor of Minneapolis
John W. Gardner, former secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame
John E. Jacob, president of the National Urban League
Morris Janowitz, founder of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society
Donald Kennedy, president of Stanford University

Rep. John Lewis, member of Congress
Ray Marshall, former secretary of Labor
Charles C. Moskos, military sociologist
Rep. Leon Panetta, member of Congress
W. E. Phillips, chairman of the Ogilvy Group
Donna Shalala, president of Hunter College
Jacqueline Grennan Wexler, president of the
National Conference of Christians and Jews
Willard Wirtz, former secretary of Labor

The first to join as an organization was the National Association of Secondary School Principals. It was later joined by the American Correctional Association, the American Veterans Committee, the National Alliance of Business, the National Association of State Boards of Education, the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, and several others.

Also, a number of newer organizations with a particular focus on community service added their names to the roster. They included the Campus Outreach Opportunity League, the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps, the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education, the National Youth Leadership Council, and Youth Service America.

Here were a group of individuals and organizations that had been concerned with youth policy from a variety of perspectives and who advocated a fairly well defined form of national service. I hoped others would sit up and take notice.

More Bills Than Ever Before

They did. The 100th Congress convened in January of 1987. Members introduced nine national service bills, more than ever before.

I think this happened because those who were latent supporters of national service sensed a movement toward national service. This movement was attributable not only to the existence of such bodies as the Coalition and the Campus Compact, but also to the fact that Gary Hart, the leading Democratic presidential contender at the time, endorsed national service.

Columnist William Raspberry had been on our mailing list for some time; it was probably the existence of the Coalition that made him decide to write the article on p. 183.

National Service Overseas

In 1986 Mike Sherraden and I signed a contract with Greenwood Press to write a book comparing national service programs in ten to twelve countries. From about 1962 to 1975 there had been an International Secretariat for Volunteer Service that was a valued source of information about volunteer service programs, both domestic and international. It collapsed when the United States withdrew its financial support. The remaining vacuum had not yet been filled. Mike and I thought it would be useful to report on recent developments, to see what lessons they might have for national service in the United States, and to provide ideas to countries that have not yet organized youth service programs. Our hope is to visit each country we describe.

Early in 1987 I visited Indonesia's study-service programs. They had a military linkage of a different kind than I had seen before. Right after World War II Indonesians were fighting for their independence from the Netherlands. When they weren't fighting, many of the better educated soldiers taught school in the villages since few teachers were left. They felt that their contacts with villagers were important and proposed that future university students should know village life first-hand if they were to govern the country responsibly. There have been several different programs over the years, all with this common goal and all incorporating a period of village service.

Late in 1987 Mike and I visited China. I found the Chinese I met to be much more open and light-hearted than they had been almost ten years earlier.

A high official of the All-China Youth Federation – our host during the visit – remarked that China would be interested in participating in an international youth service, a two-way Peace Corps in which all participating countries would both send and receive youth

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William Raspberry

National Youth Service

Is it possible?

A youngster who would have been eligible for national volunteer service when Donald J. Eberly first started writing about it might find his own children too old for the program by the time it is enacted.

Is Eberly discouraged? Far from it. "The present Congress will generate a lot of discussion on the issue," he says. "The next one might actually pass something."

If so, the 58-year-old Washingtonian would consider his 30-year effort well worthwhile. To his mind, national service is the perfect vehicle for producing two things America sorely needs: useful work (principally on behalf of young children, senior citizens and conservation) and selfless, engaged and patriotic youth.

The ingredients are there. There is a dearth of well-staffed day-care centers for children of working mothers, a growing number of old people who could use help with simple household chores and a constant need for volunteers to work in state and national parks and forests. At the same time, there are thousands of young people for whom these activities would provide important work experience, a sense of general usefulness and improved educational opportunities.

The reason something like the National Youth Service he envisions hasn't happened has nothing to do with a lack of interest. In fact, it is one of the most regularly recurring ideas in public life. The problem, Eberly believes, is that the proposals have lacked consistent backing and a unifying theme.

He is moving to remedy both faults.

After years of speaking for himself as executive director of the National Service Secretariat, Inc., he recently formed the Coalition for National Service and recruited a group of public-life superstars ranging from the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame, Amitai Etzioni of George Washington University and John Jacob of the Urban League to George Gallup Jr., Adam Yarmolinsky and officials of the Junior League. Together they have come up with a list of 10 features that a good program ought to include.

For instance, it would be voluntary; it would emphasize education and training, and it would be based on the needs of the nation rather than on the economic problems of its participants.

"It would be important not to try to do everything at once," he said in a recent interview. "For instance, I'd announce a number of grants for states, cities, counties and private organizations and have them submit proposals with certain core requirements: a minimum of six months' service, an educational connection, training appropriate to the work to be performed and a sort of GI Bill that would offer a year of education for each year of service. We'd fund a number of these proposals and then refine the idea as we went along."

Eberly would avoid targeting the program to low-income youngsters. "With the possible exception of the Job Corps, targeted programs are, by and large, not very successful. In most of the summer job programs, for instance, the idea is we have to place these poor kids or there'll be riots. We stigmatize the people by telling them they are there because they are poor, or disadvantaged, or haven't been able to find a job. I'd put the emphasis on the need for their services. I'd have the sponsors put up a few hundred dollars in earnest money, because we want the volunteer to be really

needed."

He would set the volunteers' pay at 90 percent of minimum wage and provide full medical benefits as well as tuition credits.

Of the seven proposals now before Congress, Eberly likes those submitted by Rep. Leon Panetta (D-Calif.) and Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.)—Panetta's "because it takes us by steps from where we are to the future," and Pell's "because it has the right structure of service and benefits."

There is plenty of room for debate on the particulars, but the idea of a National Youth Service has a lot going for it. There are millions of youngsters floundering between adolescence and adulthood whose attitudes, knowledge and job prospects could be improved by a year or so of public service. It might also help to restore a sense of patriotism in the young.

And, not least important, there is plenty of work that desperately needs doing. Don't be surprised if, at long last, Eberly pulls it off.

service participants.

I found at least part of the answer to what had puzzled me on my first trip – how the policy of "Serve the People" gets implemented. In reality, it is not that different from the motivation behind much of the volunteer work in America. It is a mixture of altruism, encouragement and enlightened self-interest. Most Americans have a sense that helping others is a good thing, leaders from the President on down encourage us to volunteer, and those of us who do find that it not only warms our hearts but also benefits us in other ways. Many volunteers gain useful knowledge and contacts; some gain experience leading to a job or to promotion within a company. In China there is the same kind of encouragement and similar benefits. Volunteering can lead to such things as better jobs and better housing.

There was also a greater awareness of the outside world. Our guide and several other persons we met had visited the United States. When I brought up national service in a discussion with the president of the Students' Union at Fudan University in Shanghai, he surprised me by referring to the alternative service pro-

gram in West Germany. He and several of his colleagues said they thought that kind of approach would be good for China.

* * *

As I wind up this account in July 1988, there is cause for hope. The Youth Service Survey for 1987 shows an increase in enrollments over 1986. Senators and Representatives and their staff members are working on national service legislation with the hope of getting it enacted in 1989. Three dozen members of the Coalition for National Service met at the Wingspread Conference Center in Wisconsin early this month to draft an action agenda for national service in the 1990s. We produced more than one hundred agenda items under these headings:

Create a national youth service.
Establish a national youth service foundation.
Develop an international volunteer youth service.
Conduct research and pilot projects.
Link service with learning and learning with service.
Promote cooperation with the private sector.
Maintain broad-based participation in youth service.
Expand state and local programs.
Foster linkages with other interest groups.
Work with young people on the evolution of national service.
Generate active public support.

A full report is to be published later in 1988 under the title, *National Service: An Action Agenda for the 1990's*. Much remains to be done.

We'll try to keep the promise.

[Narrative continued on p. 223.]

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National Service: An Issue For the Eighties

By Donald J. Eberly

As surely as Social Security is an issue in 1984, national youth service will be a major issue before the end of this decade. A combination of powerful forces is certain to place the debate about universal service on the nation's agenda.

The 1970s left a residue of problem areas that were addressed but not answered. Youth unemployment is a bigger problem now than it was in 1977, when the Congress forced President Carter to accelerate his timetable for submitting what was to become the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977. The transitions from school to work and from youth to adulthood were the topics of blue-ribbon panels whose recommendations were commendable but whose impact was negligible.

Increasingly, economists are describing much of youth unemployment as structural rather than cyclical, which means that improved economic conditions alone will do little to reduce youth unemployment.

In addition to these inherited problems, the 1980s bring with them several new factors. The youth population has entered a period of decline, falling from 30 million 18 to 24-year-olds in 1980, to 25 million in 1990. The Reagan administration is planning to increase the size of the armed forces without resort to conscription. Increasingly, economists are describing much of youth unemployment as structural rather than cyclical, which means that improved economic conditions alone will do little to reduce youth unemployment.

The dilemmas are apparent. While a falling population may decrease youth unemployment rates by a few points, it will not change the structural nature of youth unemployment. The problem of recruiting an enlarged military force in the face of a declining reservoir from which to draw and without conscription is obvious. If an improved economy does reduce the rate of youth unemployment, Congress will have to raise the ante for joining the

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all-volunteer force. As the financial incentives for joining the armed forces rise, they will be referred to increasingly as mercenary forces.

National youth service, in which all young people would be asked to contribute a year or two to meeting important national needs, would go a long way in answering the dilemmas of both the 1970s and the early 1980s. Youth unemployment would fall dramatically as one million young people, more than half of whom were unemployed, entered civilian youth service. The transition from school to work would be eased as the government became the employer of first resort. Every young person willing to serve would be able to do so. The transition from youth to adulthood would be facilitated as young people engaged in responsible, constructive jobs and gained valuable work experience and career exploration.

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If the problem with youth unemployment is structural, it must be answered structurally. Youth service would constitute a fundamental change in the nation's largely unwritten youth policy. Every elementary and high school student would know that he or she could look forward to at least a year of constructive work upon completion of high school. Conversely, no young person would be able to say that society has denied him a chance, that he can't find a job.

With national service, the problem of raising an army can be answered in one of two ways. The existence of a large-scale civilian service option may generate among young people a sense of volunteer service that leads enough of them to enlist in the armed forces to avoid a return to the draft. If, on the other hand, the required size of the military is greater than the number of volunteers, it is likely that the public will demand a return to the draft at about the time it perceives the volunteer army turning into a mercenary army.

The problems were less complex when William James proposed a form of youth service in 1906. In "The Moral Equivalent of War," James (1926), while opposing militarism, said that young men are inherently energetic and have militant tendencies. He observed that these tendencies all too often find expression in war and street corner gang fights.

As a constructive alternative, James recommended, instead of a military draft, "a conscription of the whole youthful population . . . to coal and iron mines, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, to clothes washing," and various other challenging, constructive, and energy-consuming jobs. "Such a conscription," James said, "would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the military party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace."

James looked forward to the day when a force other than war could discipline a whole community. To date, there have been only isolated, short-term examples such as the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, which James witnessed first-hand a few weeks after giving his "moral equivalent" speech at Stanford University. Similar expressions of community spirit and service have been seen in the wake of major floods and hurricanes.

The closest the U.S. has come to a "moral equivalent of war" on a sustained level has been the Civilian Conservation Corps with three million enrollees from 1933 to 1942, and the Peace Corps with 90,000 enrollees from 1961 to 1983. In talking with those who served in the CCC or the Peace Corps, one often gets the feeling that they as individuals absorbed James' objective.

If the U.S. adopts a youth service program, it will most likely offer a number of options to young men and women. They may live at home and work in senior citizens' centers and nursing homes, in hospitals and health clinics, in schools and day care centers, in recreation and other municipal programs. They may leave home to work in conservation and public works projects, in native American and migrant programs. A limited number may join the Peace Corps.

Upon completion of service, young men and women would be given an educational entitlement, similar to the old GI Bill, to support their further study and training.

While in service, they will be encouraged to extend their education by linking up with service-learning programs of the kind pioneered by the NASSP in the early 1970s. Upon completion of service, young men and women would be given an educational entitlement, similar to the old GI Bill, to support their further study and training.

The local service aspect of national service was described in the March 1974 *NASSP Bulletin*. Several hundred young people in the Seattle area received vouchers entitling them to a year of payment at nearly the minimum wage in return for a year of full-time service in about 1,000 different positions. The sponsoring agencies—state, municipal, and nonprofit—provided the necessary training, supervision, and $150 in cash in return for the services they received.

Almost all of the young people who sougnt positions found them, from a mentally retarded young woman working in a nursing home to a bright college graduate working for the American Civil Liberties Union. The majority of volunteers served in schools as tutors and teachers' aides, or in social service agencies as counselors, child-care aides, recreational assistants, and the like.

This experimental national service project in Seattle was funded by the federal agency, ACTION, under a grant to the State of Washington, and was

evaluated as highly successful. The unemployment rate among participants fell from 70 percent at time of entry to 18 percent six months after completion of service. One participant in four reported a service-learning linkage. The value of the work performed was appraised by the sponsoring organizations at double the cost to the federal government.

A clue to the quality of the service experience—for the participant as well as the client—was the investment required of the sponsoring organization. Rather than being paid to take needy youth off the streets, the required investment of supervision, training, and cash led the sponsors to integrate the youthful participants into the work of the sponsor and to insist on a good performance.

The Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s is the best-known example of the away-from-home type of national service. From 1933 to 1942, a total of three million young men transformed the American landscape into a more beautiful, useful, and productive land. In the Capital Forest area near Olympia, Wash., CCC members reforested 90,000 acres of land at a cost of $270,000. In 1981, the timber value of the 45-year-old trees was estimated conservatively at $630,000,000.

The Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s is the best-known example of the away-from-home type of national service. From 1933 to 1942, a total of three million young men transformed the American landscape into a more beautiful, useful, and productive land.

The latest example of the educational entitlement for youth service participants is a private sector initiative launched at Brown University in 1982. Under the National Service Scholarship Program funded by a one million dollar grant from the C. V. Starr Foundation, 13 students were awarded $1,000 to $2,000 scholarships for having contributed a significant amount of time to voluntary public service.

Two Futures for National Service

The merits of national youth service are sufficient to justify its immediate establishment. The President should draw attention to national needs such as taking care of the very young and the very old, catching up with the conservation work that has been piling up since the days of the CCC, helping to rebuild the nation's infrastructure, and being prepared to defend the nation in the armed services. He should invite young people to volunteer to meet these needs, assuring to all who do a decent stipend and financial credits for further education and training.

The Congress should appropriate sufficient funds to permit the gradual buildup of civilian service, from 100,000 participants at the end of the first year, to an estimated plateau enrollment of one million persons three years later. In 1983 dollars, the cost per work year would be $8,000 and the set-aside for national service scholarships would be another $2,000 per work year. The program should be initiated by competitive grants to cities, states, counties, and selected coalitions. Various assumptions would be tested during the early years to permit an efficient operation when youth service reaches full size.

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If civilian youth service is not adopted on its merits, it may arrive through the side door in the event the draft is reinstated. The draft law requires that conscientious objectors perform two years of civilian service contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest. To qualify as a conscientious objector, a young man would have to convince his draft board of his objection to participation in war.

This was a relatively easy determination to make during World War II, the Korean War, and most of the Vietnam War because the objection had to be based on the person's religious beliefs. Conscientious objector status was assigned almost automatically to Mennonites, Quakers, and Church of the Brethren members. The testimony of a pastor, priest, or rabbi could convince the draft board that a young Methodist, Catholic, or Jew deserved to be a conscientious objector.

The 10,000 volunteers who comprise the local draft boards that were reconstituted last year would have a much more difficult time deciding among those claiming to be conscientious objectors in the future. If the draft were reinstated today, young men could claim conscientious objector status on religious, moral, or ethical grounds. Neither church membership nor good behavior would be required of conscientious objector applicants. The mere assertion of one's moral or ethical beliefs in opposition to war could result in a local draft board awarding him conscientious objector status.

What could happen in the United States is revealed by the situation that exists in West Germany today. The basis for conscientious objection is found in the West German Constitution: "No one may be compelled against his

conscience to render war service involving the use of arms." The great majority of young men who apply for conscientious objector status receive it. Currently, some 35,000 conscientious objectors are performing alternative service, and a reported 100,000 others have made application for conscientious objector status. These figures compare with approximately 230,000 conscripts in the armed services.

The young man forced to make a decision may not make it in the way the law intended. The civilian service options in West Germany are perceived by some young men as more useful and more interesting than the armed forces.

The alternative service options open to West Germans include overseas service, disaster relief service on a part-time basis for a 10-year period, and full-time domestic civilian service for a period of 16 months. The period for conscripts is 15 months plus a reserve obligation. Most of the young men in alternative service are in full-time civilian service, working in such places as hospitals, nursing homes, orphanages, and homes for the aged, handicapped, and mentally retarded. Alternative service official Franz Strube said in 1980 that, "civilian service was becoming so important that there would be public pressure to continue it if conscription were ended."

The nation that tells its young people they are not needed except in time of war; that denies valued services to the very old, the very young, and the disabled when such services are readily available; that fails to conserve its natural resources, not from ignorance but from some vague economic construct, is a nation that is failing to meet its responsibility to the future.

Whether in West Germany or the United States, the problem of assessing someone else's most personal attribute—his conscientious beliefs—is not the only factor making conscientious objection a sticky public policy. The young man forced to make a decision may not make it in the way the law intended. The civilian service options in West Germany are perceived by some young men as more useful and more interesting than the armed forces.

Draft counselors in the United States report that some young men are much more interested in the consequences of the conscientious objector

The Case for National Service

The legislative history of national service suggests that one cannot successfully make the case for national civilian service independent of its relationship to the draft and military service. Still, it is worth a try. I would like to approach this point by drawing an analogy that may be far removed in time, but not in principle.

Let us go back several generations, to a time when there were only a handful of colleges in this country, and suppose none had been added since that time. We can be sure there would be advocates of a major higher education initiative. These advocates would say that the United States needs more higher education to strengthen its economy and improve its technology for both peaceful and military purposes. They would also contend that young people would benefit from higher education by having the potential to attain higher living standards and greater appreciation of art and literature.

The advocates would disagree on a number of points. Some would call for a major federal initiative; others would say that the private sector should lead the way. Some would recommend a series of large institutions with 25,000 students each; others would argue for limiting enrollment to 1,000 students per institution. Some would say that the higher education system should be set up without reference to the draft; some would argue for student deferments or exemptions; others would require all students to spend a year or more in military training and service.

Common to all higher education advocates, however, would be an insistence on the promise of higher education. Together with already existing opportunities for military service and civilian employment, they would ask that higher education become a cornerstone of the nation's youth policy.

The analogy with national service is a strong one. Harvard and Yale were to higher education what the Peace Corps and VISTA are to national service.

Just as broad opportunities for higher education have benefited both the nation and the students, so do the nation as a whole, as well as the youthful participants, stand to benefit from national service. Like higher education, national service needs to be examined not as an adjunct to military service, but as a cornerstone of our unwritten youth policy.

choice than in the religious, moral, or ethical basis for it. If the draft were reinstated, particularly during peace time, young men might come to view the conscientious objection provision in the draft law as a way to choose a preferred form of service.

Laying the Groundwork

The groundwork is being laid for the forthcoming debate about national youth service. Presidential candidates Reubin Askew and Alan Cranston are advocating comprehensive national service opportunities for young people. Rep. Edward Roybal has submitted legislation for a Civilian Conservation Corps II, in which young people doing conservation work for two years would be exempt from military service during peace time.

Sen. Paul Tsongas and Rep. Leon Panetta have proposed legislation that would establish a presidential commission to study national service. Panetta said earlier this year that he is "optimistic on the prospects for quick action."

The moral issue is more fundamental than the political one. The nation that tells its young people they are not needed except in time of war; that denies valued services to the very old, the very young, and the disabled when such services are readily available; that fails to conserve its natural resources, not from ignorance but from some vague economic construct, is a nation that is failing to meet its responsibility to the future.

I am convinced from the young people I meet and from the extensive data in existence that young people are ready and willing to meet their share of this future responsibility.

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The Differential Effect of National Service on Women

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[Reprinted from *Women in the United States Armed Forces: Progress and Barriers in the 1980s* by permission of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.]

Only in recent years have national service proposals included women on an equal footing with men. In the most favored national service program an estimated 600,000 women and 400,000 men would be performing civilian service at any time. Such a program would have two major impacts: (1) a significant contribution to meeting the needs of the very old, the very young and other areas of national importance, and (2) a substantial reduction in youth unemployment accompanied by major gains in work experience and career exploration. There would be some reduction in the number of young women in poverty and, in the long run, an increase in the number of young women attending college. Female enlistments in the All Volunteer Forces would remain essentially unchanged.

It is now generally accepted that if the United States establishes a national service program, women will be included. It was not always so. William James, in his 1906 "Moral Equivalent of War" speech at Stanford University, limited participation in national service to young men.

The United States started two large scale youth service programs in the 1930s; the Civilian Conservation Corps was limited to young men, the National Youth Administration — whose participants lived at home — offered jobs to both young men and young women.

By the time two small youth service programs, the Peace Corps and VISTA, were created in the 1960s, the principle of female participation was firmly established. However, the national service proposals of the time tended to treat men and women differently as

most such proposals addressed the military draft then in effect. Typically, the proposals suggested that young men could meet their service obligation by performing two years of civilian service, while young women would be admitted to civilian service as volunteers and might serve for only one year.[1]

The National Council of Women of the United States claims to have convened the first conference to concentrate on the role of women in national service in 1967. Seventy-five women, including educators, sociologists, civil libertarians, religious leaders, veterans and pacifists, met for three days to examine national service issues. By unanimous vote, they reached the following conclusions:

1. It was agreed that some form of national service for men and women
   [a] would be of benefit to the nation
   [b] would have special values for the individual
   [c] would strengthen rather than weaken family structures
   [d] and would be a desirable national goal.
2. It was agreed that while compulsory national service might be a necessity in a wartime emergency, the development of peacetime national service should be a voluntary privilege and opportunity, offered to all citizens.[2]

In 1969, Seventeen magazine did a survey of teenage females and found that one in three favored a compulsory service program for women, nine out of ten favored a voluntary national service program for men and women, and two out of three respondents would personally volunteer to serve in such a program.[3]

In 1970, I attempted to gauge the likely effect of national service on young people. Among other things, I concluded that youth unemployment would fall 64% and the marriage rate for 18-21 year old women would fall 7% as some would postpone marriage in order to spend a year or two in national service.[4]

The effect of national service on women would depend on the type and size of national service. The national service model used in this paper is the one

favored by most people, according to nationwide polls, and the one closest to the type of national service that has emerged from several national service study groups in recent years. Its generic name is universal voluntary national service (UVNS).

UVNS would offer service opportunities to all 18-24 year olds. There would be a build-up period of three years, to permit needs to be translated into UVNS openings and to permit orderly administrative development. The All-Volunteer Force would continue on the assumption that the loss of enlistees to civilian service would be offset by increased enlistments due to a stronger service ethic resulting from the national service program. Should a military draft be reinstated, UVNS veterans would bear the same relationship to it as military veterans.

Civilian service participants would receive a stipend and medical benefits equivalent to the minimum wage. In addition, those who complete a full year of civilian service would receive an education and training entitlement of one year for every year of service. In order to help insure that participants are well utilized, sponsoring organizations would provide training, supervision and a cash payment equal to five percent of the minimum wage. The annual cost to the federal government, including an educational set aside, would be $10,500. UVNS participants would not replace regular employees.

Various studies and national service test programs suggest a steady state enrollment in civilian youth service of about one in every four young people, with 60% of the enrollees being female. At any one time, there would be 600,000 female participants in a total enrollment of one million.

Although the data in this paper are not taken from a single time period, they are adequate to show the likely effect of a national youth service program in several important areas. Unless otherwise indicated, it is assumed that UVNS has been in effect for at least three years and has reached its steady state enrollment of one million.

Service Needs

The service needs of society are many and varied. Various surveys as well as extrapolations from national service pilot projects suggest a need for at least two million, and more likely three to four million persons working in the kinds of service jobs that young people can do.[5] An analysis of these studies and experiments suggests the distribution of national service participants given in Table I. The actual activity profile would be determined by the interaction of the work needing to be done and the preference of the participants.

Employment

The January employment[6] profile of 18-24 year old females was as follows:

	Number (Thousands)	Unemployed Rate
In Civilian labor force		
Employed	8,180	
Unemployed	1,410	14.5%
Not in Civilian labor force	5,236	

In ACTION's national service test program in Seattle in 1973, 7 out of 10 participants were unemployed and looking for work while about 15% were employed, generally in jobs in the secondary labor force. The remainder came from outside the labor force. Given these same proportions, the direct impact of national service on youth female employment would be as follows:

	Number (Thousands)	Unemployed Rate
In Civilian labor force		
Employed	8,690	
Unemployed	990	10.2%
Not in Civilian labor force	5,146	

TABLE I
Estimated Activity Profile of Civilian Service Participants by End of Third Year of UVNS*

	(Number in Thousands)		
Position:	Female	Male	Total
Literacy aides	30	20	50
Tutors	100	55	155
Teacher aides	60	35	95
Health aides	40	20	60
Mental health aides	10	10	20
Nursing home aides	40	10	50
Geriatric aides	50	20	70
Conservation aides	60	80	140
Anti-pollution aides	20	25	45
Beautification aides	20	25	45
Recreation aides	20	20	40
Day care aides	60	10	70
Prison aides	5	5	10
Police aides	10	15	25
Fire aides	5	5	10
Public work aids	20	20	40
Library aides	10	5	15
Other social service aides	40	20	60
Total	600	400	1,000

* Estimates derived from writer's experience with national service pilot projects and various studies, most recently U.S. Department of Labor, Assessing Large Scale Public Job Creation. R & D Monograph 67, Washington, DC, 1979.

The indirect effects of UVNS could reduce unemployment even more as the spending power of participants generated a demand for additional workers. Also, with guaranteed employment available in UVNS, fewer young people could claim that they were actively seeking work but unable to find it.

Those participating in UVNS would also benefit from a year or more of work experience, would have overcome the hurdle of never having had a regular job, and would have a basis for career planning and

further education.

While there would be no guarantee of jobs after service, the unemployment rate drop in the Seattle project from 70% to 18% six months after completion of service indicated the differential effect of a year of service.

College Enrollment

National service has a great influence on those who participate. Service in the Civilian Conservation Corps or in World War II was seen by some participants as "the best years of our lives." Many Peace Corps Volunteers compared their experience with college, reporting that they learned more from two years in the Peace Corps than they had from four years in college.

With UVNS in effect, many college bound young people would take the national service detour for a year or two, then go to college with a better sense of what they wanted from higher education. Some would drop out of college to enter UVNS.

There were 3.6 million 18-24 year old females enrolled in college in October 1980. Assuming they participated in UVNS at the same rate as the general population, some 900,000 would be UVNS enrollees at some time. In a given steady state year, however, colleges would lose no more than 200,000 women to national service. Eventually, this number would be more than offset by women attending college on the National Service GI Bill. During the three year transition period, the number of persons entering UVNS would be smaller (100,000 the first year and 300,000 the second) so the college enrollment losses would be smaller.

The peak net loss to higher education would likely occur in the third year of UVNS, when it might go as high as 4%. By the fourth year of UVNS and attainment of steady state enrollment, net college attendance would begin to increase as a result of the educational motivations generated by a year in UVNS and made possible by the GI Bill for National Service.

Poverty

The number and percent of 18-24 year old females living below the poverty level in 1979 is given below:[8]

Race	Numbers (Thousands)	Percent of Cohort
White	1,261	10.3
Black	665	34.3
Spanish Origin	230	24.2
Total	1,975	13.7

National service would draw disproportionately from the poverty population, with an estimated 33% of participants being below the poverty line at the time of entry. With 600,000 female participants, some 198,000 would be below the poverty level. Assuming they were distributed in the same proportion as the female youth of 1979, and that they would not be in poverty while in national service, the respective poverty groups would be reduced approximately 10%. The figures below indicate the likely participation in national service.

Race	Numbers (Thousands)	Percent of Cohort
White	126	1.0
Black	66	3.4
Spanish Origin	23	2.4
Total	198	1.4

A recent Census Bureau report states that 70% to 80% of female-headed non-white families with children were living in poverty in 1982.[9] *Among white teenagers, the rate of out of wedlock births more than doubled from 1962-1977 while for black teenagers, with higher absolute rates, the rate increased about 16%.*[10] *It would be of particular interest to deter-*

mine the extent to which participation in UVNS might replace giving births as a rite of passage for young unmarried women.

Armed Forces

The Pentagon reports an enrollment of 111,000 women aged 18-24 on active duty in 1982, or about 0.7% of this female age cohort. The Youth Attitude Tracking Study, 1982 suggests that young women are motivated to enlist by such factors as job employment, money for education, level of income, equality of pay and opportunity for men and women, and serving one's country.[11]

There is little reason to suggest that UVNS would have a significant effect on female enlistments in the All-Volunteer Force. Given the enlistment standards, the training and experience opportunities, the benefits package, and the preferences of female enlistees, most who enter the Armed Forces could be expected to do so even with UVNS.

Summary

The differential impact of national service on women would be most pronounced in the area of unemployment, with an estimated 30% of the unemployed 18-24 year old females entering national service.

National service would reduce the number of young women living in poverty and would temporarily reduce the number attending college. After a few years, however, the latter number would rise as those who had been in national service utilized their GI Bill for National Service.

In the absence of research findings to suggest either increased or decreased participation by women in the Armed Forces, it is assumed that they would continue to comprise about 9% of the active duty forces.

In other areas of interest, such as the voting rate, arrest rate and incarceration rate, there is insufficient evidence to suggest a particular effect of national service.

On either side of the coin, it is clear that young women in national service would have a differential impact on national needs. In such fields as education, conservation, health and day care, the youthful participants would contribute significantly to individuals most in need and in so doing, help meet important national needs.

A program of national youth service would cause a distinct shift away from unemployment and poverty toward useful jobs, work experience, career development and enhanced educational opportunities. In the process, the nation and its neediest people would benefit from the help the 600,000 young women would give them.

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National Service in the 1990's

Donald Eberly

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If we can first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it.

Abraham Lincoln

The greatest strength and the greatest weakness of national service are found in the same place: its multi-dimensional nature. A sociologist views national service as a rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood. A patriot sees it as a training ground for building good citizens and national unity. An anti-poverty worker considers national service primarily as a service delivery program to the poor and needy. A manpower expert looks at national service as a way to facilitate the transition of young people from school to work. An inner-city resident hopes national service will reduce the incidence of neighborhood crime, poverty, drug abuse and unemployment. An educator believes national service will provide the experiential education needed to counterbalance the years of largely passive education received by students in the classroom. An employer welcomes national service as an initiative that will yield good work habits, thereby reducing the risk in hiring young employees. A conservationist views national service as a source of labour that can restore the forests and wilderness areas to their condition of a century ago. With this formidable array of outcomes, all of which can be found in broad-based youth service programs in varying degrees, one may wonder why such countries as Canada and the United States did not long ago join national service with education as cornerstones of their youth policies.

A big part of the answer lies in the same abundance of outcomes. Whenever I give a talk about national

service, the first question almost invariably is, "What are you really trying to do, help the needy or give young people work experience?... Develop good citizens or solve literacy problems?" There seems to be a preference, among legislators and the public alike, to solve problems along only one dimension at a time.

A former employer of mine ran into the same problem in Nigeria in the early 1950's. S.O. Awokoya had just been named Minister of Education for Nigeria's Western Region. With great hope, he introduced a legislative package of sweeping educational reforms, from universal primary education to adult education, vocational education, teacher training and the creation of new universities. Nothing happened. The next year, he introduced only universal primary education and saw it passed. In the succeeding years of the decade, at the rate of about one item per year, virtually the entire original package had been enacted.

Accepting the reality of step-by-step progress, why not adopt the same technique for national service? Begin, let's say, with a conservation corps. Then start an overseas service program for young people. Next, go with a domestic youth service corps.

Both Canada and the United States have already tried this process. There were conservation programs in the 1930's; the Peace Corps and Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), began in the early 1960's, and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) and the Company of Young Canadians (CYC) were introduced in the mid 1960's.

Where are they now? The conservation programs expired with the onset of World War II. The Peace Corps and CUSO have survived, albeit with magnitudes dwarfed by reputations: the Peace Corps now has 6,000 volunteers and CUSO, 1,000. VISTA, with a nationwide enrollment of 2,000 volunteers, barely survives; Katimavik, a domestic youth service successor to CYC, had its government funding terminated this year (1986).

These figures are minuscule compared with the potential of national service. Those of us who advocate a universal right to serve, project a steady-state enrollment in civilian service of approximately one million persons in the United States, and 100,000 in Canada. Mandatory service for all young people would enroll three times these numbers in civilian service.

To date, then, the step-by-step approach to national service has not worked. Still, it has left a legacy of important lessons for the future of national service. These are the major lessons of the United States programs:

1. The Civilian Conservation Corps taught us that the government could organize and manage a large, residential, effective youth service program.

2. The GI Bill for Education revealed the value of a service interlude in whetting the appetite for further education among all classes of young people.

3. The Peace Corps has demonstrated that young people can be trusted to do important work elsewhere than in the Armed Forces, and has reinforced the linkage between a service experience and a strong desire for further education.

4. VISTA has demonstrated that young people can serve effectively at home as well as in the forest or overseas, and that poor people are willing to serve as volunteers on subsistence stipends.

The Program for Local Service (PLS), a national service test project conducted by the federal ACTION agency in the mid-1970's, demonstrated the feasibility of a large-scale, non-residential youth service program. It also showed that youth service could be integrated with the community at large. In the Washington Service Corps, a 1980's version of PLS, the sponsor's contribution is now 750 dollars for six months of service. In addition to the sponsoring organization, this contribution has come from unions, businesses and professional associations.

PLS and other youth service initiatives have shown

that, properly designed, youth service will attract young people from all walks of life; it will produce services worth more than the cost; and participants will benefit from work experience, career exploration, self-confidence, civic pride, increased employability and greater awareness of the needs of others. Finally, studies and experimentation have demonstrated that there is plenty of important work for young people to tackle, and that a build-up over several years is necessary.

This is a formidable set of outcomes. It suggests two points for the future of national service. First, enough is known about the concept and its application to enable a nation to move forward confidently with national service. Second, some way must be found to make presentable the multi-dimensional nature of national service.

A Profile of Benefits

An attempt to analyze the full range of outcomes of youth programs was made in the 1970's, when I was ACTION's representative on the Interagency Panel for Research and Development on Adolescence. Its members included persons from the Department of Labour; Health, Education and Welfare, and other federal agencies dealing with young people. My major effort, almost totally in vain, was to convince member agencies to look at the total impact of their programs. If this were done, they could be compared with one another. A few examples will illustrate the comparative analysis that could be made.

The Peace Corps and VISTA are volunteer programs with an emphasis on the accomplishment of useful services. Yet, I have talked with Peace Corps and VISTA Volunteers who joined because it was the best job — and in a few cases, the only job — they could get. It is also clear that the volunteer service experience plays a major role in career decisions, and the experience is sometimes a factor in securing a job. Thus, the Peace Corps and VISTA are, to some extent,

job programs. It would be useful to quantify their effectiveness as job programs.

The Job Corps is a training program for the poor and disadvantaged. But it is also a service program. Young people serving in Job Corps Conservation Centers contributed tens of millions of dollars worth of conservation service as an integral part of their training. Those in urban centers have built furniture and toys for day care centers and have done many other such things, sometimes as part of their training and sometimes as volunteers on their own time. Here again, it would be good to know the annual value of such services.

While the kind of assessment proposed would reveal the bonuses provided by some youth programs, it would reveal deficiencies in others. For example, the College Work-Study Program (CWSP) was supposed to put college students to work serving people living in poverty. Instead, the Program was captured by the colleges with the result that at no time in its twenty year history has there been a record of more than 15% of CWSP students serving off-campus. The net effect has been that colleges benefited at the expense of poor people and of students eligible for CWSP.

The proposed analysis remains to be done. As a goad to researchers and those who finance them, I am going to postulate a set of benefits resulting from youth service programs. Then, I shall estimate the value of these benefits in four programs. The results will illustrate how youth service programs may be justified economically, the ideal funding profiles for given programs, and the ways in which such programs can be shaped to yield the desired results.

This construct assumes that the benefits of a youth service program accrue to six persons or entities; namely, the participant, the sponsor, the community, future employers of the participant, educational interests and the nation. Each is defined in some

detail because of the various ways benefits could be allocated. For example, some would separate the individual service recipient from the sponsor because this benefit is so important. I have merged them in order to simplify the process of evaluation.

The participant benefits in a multitude of ways. Direct benefits include stipends, medical care, training, life insurance and end-of-service scholarships or allowances. Other benefits are more indirect. They include the satisfaction of helping others, improved problem-solving ability, exploration of possible careers, employability, and a measure of success in making the transitions from school to work and from adolescence to adulthood. These benefits will be a result of the interaction between that participant and the service experience, and the profile of such benefits will be unique to each participant.

Benefits to the sponsor are composed of those received by clients of national service participants. However, such benefits are difficult to measure in human service programs, and virtually impossible in conservation programs. The task of measuring such benefits is facilitated by asking the question; How much money would the sponsor have needed to accomplish the services performed by the national service participant? This approach to benefit analysis permits comparisons of very different kinds of services, from planting trees to teaching people to read and write.

The community is defined as the neighborhood, city, county, province and state. Benefits include such things as lower expenditures for the welfare, police, and fire departments. Sometimes the community will also be the sponsor and it will be necessary to differentiate the benefits between the two. Take the example of a participant who serves as a fire department aide, teaching fire safety to school children. Consider the instructional value (e.g., fewer fires and fire alarms by the students) as a benefit to the

sponsor, and the savings (e.g., the participant goes off the welfare rolls and doesn't commit two crimes) as a benefit to the community.

Future employers benefit from the good work habits and skills acquired by national service participants. Such employers can reduce their training expenditures and losses from the turnover of employees and, in some situations, their recruitment costs as well.

Students benefit from the mostly experiential learning acquired during national service. This learning makes them better students and gives them a better sense of what they want from formal education. This phenomenon was most noticeable in the years following World War II, when millions of ex-servicemen flooded campuses and proved themselves the best students ever. In the same vein, one might expect increased numbers of young people seeking further education. However, this benefit would be offset somewhat by the decisions of some young people to forego higher education for a period of national service.

Benefits to the nation, although hard to measure, are significant. The country that provides constructive opportunities to young people will reap the reward in the decades to come. The national service experience will give participants an investment in their country. Just as loyalties develop from investments in families, churches and colleges, so will those with an investment in the country become its best stewards. Sometimes, the national interest is served in specialized ways. For example, Nigeria, whose borders were drawn 100 years ago in Berlin without regard to tribal groupings, assigns its National Youth Service Corps members to serve in states well removed from the states in which they grew up.

While the participant, sponsor, community and nation are easy to identify, the future employers and educational interests are not. A good way to involve future employers is to invite profit-making concerns to involve themselves in national service in several

ways, such as the lending of staff members for participant training and seminars, sharing the added costs of national service sponsors, and creating a non-profit entity to administer a service program eligible for youth service participants. This approach will result in a self-fulfilling prophecy as those concerns which involve themselves in national service become the ones who attract participants as employees and enhance their public image in the process.

One of the best ways to tap into educational interests is to direct such money to education and training entitlements for national service participants. As examples, the United States Congress could divert some of its money for educational loans (it costs the United States government just over a billion dollars in 1985 to cover defaults on loan repayments) to a new G.I. Bill for National Service; the annual college alumni drive could include a new option for donations, namely, scholarships for persons completing national service; states and provinces could establish scholarships for their residents, and companies and individuals could create scholarships in their names.

An estimated allocation of benefits for Katimavik (discontinued in spring, 1986), the Program for Local Service, the New York City Volunteer Corps and the California Conservation Corps is given in Table 1. The estimates reflect my view of PLS and the California Corps as emphasizing the delivery of services; Katimavik focusing on youth development and nation-building, and the New York City program having a greater community impact than the others. These variations are to be expected. The programs were designed to yield different sets of benefits.

To the extent the matrix reflects reality, it suggests some fairly significant observations. The high yield to the participant in each of the programs justifies the less than prevailing wage stipend in each of them. The high returns to the sponsor in the

Table 1: National Allocation of Benefits
In Selected Youth Service Programs*

Beneficiaries	Value of benefits (1985 Cdn $ Thousands)			
	Katimavik	PLS	NYCVC	CACC
Participant	24	17	16	17
Sponsor	6	17	15	16
Community	4	2	7	4
Future employers	3	6	3	3
Educational interests	4	3	4	5
Nation	9	5	5	5
Total	50	50	50	50

* With no regard for equalizing total benefits, no program in my first set of estimates was valued more than 10% higher or lower than any other program. I then decided to normalize the total benefits in order to focus attention on the several beneficiaries.

three United States programs justify a substantial sponsor contribution. Similarly, we can conclude that New York City should pay a higher proportion of program costs than the communities served in the other programs.

A more elaborate analysis would reveal the fine structure of benefits within each program. Benefits to individual participants might range from 1,000 dollars to 100,000 dollars or more. Benefits to individual sponsors might be as low as zero and as high as 50,000 dollars. This kind of analysis could be used to check on the egalitarian nature of national service. Major benefits to poor and disadvantaged participants would include learning to read and write, gaining a high school equivalency diploma and acquiring habits necessary to holding a job. One would hypothesize that these benefits would be more highly valued than those — such as career exploration and increased awareness of the needs of others — that

would accrue as primary benefits to more privileged participants. At the same time, one would expect the latter to contribute a higher value of services than the former. If these hypotheses are proven to be true, then national service would be shown to produce results that are highly valued in a democratic society, and do so with dignity.

This kind of benefit analysis can also be used in designing a youth service program. To the extent that areas such as conservation, day care and assistance to the elderly are to be served, then the same areas should be tapped for support. For example, sponsors of conservation projects might be supported by a federal department of forestry, the Sierra Club, and a local gardening club. If the emphasis is to be on employability or experiential education, then future employers or educational interests would provide substantial support.

The allocation of resources in national service will never be in exact proportion to its benefits, but an attempt at such allocation is needed to maintain the integrity of the concept. One cause of the downfall of the United States War on Poverty was that the community action agencies were funded by the federal government and therefore, paid more attention to the federal government than to elected and other established leaders in the community. If youth service is totally funded by cities, let us say, a politically ambitious director might decide it is important for all youth service participants to attend the "Director's Lecture" every Monday morning. The participants will come because they know who pays them and the sponsors will not have much to say because they have little or no investment in the program. However, sponsors who were putting up 25% of participant stipends would have plenty to say about it. It would not matter whether it was their own money, that of a friendly business or labour union, or money from the federal government. It would be money earmarked for a special purpose, such as literacy or housing, and the money would soon dry up if it was not being used for

the intended purpose.

Extrapolations or Discontinuities?

The logical course for national service during the 1990's would be an evolutionary one. Whether Canada, the United States, or elsewhere, youth programs would be subjected to the kind of analysis outlined above. The results would be given to the public and the policy makers who would then apply their collective value system to the findings. One country might decide to emphasize a particular service area, such as the care of senior citizens or battling acid rain on all fronts; another might focus on the educational value of the service experience; a third country might emphasize youth development and take Katimavik as its model. In the United States, the few dozen state and local youth service programs might grow to several hundred and generate sufficient political pressure to bring in the federal government as a financial partner.

The trouble is, history does not proceed logically. External events get in the way. Who can tell what they will be? The United States might decide that its volunteer army is too expensive and revert to the peacetime draft. If this happens, Congress might choose a form of national service that requires all young men and women to register but permits them to opt for either civilian or military service, conscripting persons only to meet shortfalls in military quotas. It is also quite possible that some countries will decide they cannot afford the rapidly increasing number of able, retired but idle persons. In the 1990's, it may be a National Senior Service Corps that offers the elderly a chance to serve in large numbers.

Whether national service in the 1990's proves to be a logical extension of youth service initiatives of the past 50 years, whether it is shaped primarily by other forces already on the horizon, or whether it is helped or hindered by events no one is predicting,

this much is clear: young people and those they would serve can only be helped by the kind of analysis and synthesis suggested earlier. Experience with youth service programs combined with informed discussion of their likely outcomes within the framework of national priorities will provide the foundation for sensible decisions.

Back to the Future

Those who see the promise of national service should also remain alert to its potential for becoming a moral equivalent of war. In the absence of a hot war, this aspect of national service has been neglected in recent years in favor of such current issues as youth unemployment and the lack of experiential education. Still, "The Moral Equivalent of War" by William James remains the most evocative work on national service.

James declared himself a pacifist and then proceeded to call for the adoption of such military characteristics as intrepidity, contempt of softness and surrender of private interest. He said that failure to acknowledge the enduring nature of these attributes had been the fatal flaw in the work of his fellow pacifists. James then described his proposal to preserve such virtues without waging war. The moral equivalent of war would come about by conscripting young people to do the work of society that was risky, tough, and unpleasant, yet important and rewarding. By so doing, James (1926) said:

the military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fibre of the people; no one would remain blind as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's relations to the globe he lives on, and to the permanently sour and hard foundations of his higher life.

Does James' analysis and synthesis apply to the 1990's and the 21st Century? Inasmuch as injuries, stemming primarily from drunken driving and social violence, are the leading killers of young people in

the United States (1985), it appears that his analysis retains its validity. To determine if his answer is correct, it will be necessary to examine the effects of youth service on youthful participants.

For young people, the issue is whether they find youth service a sufficient outlet for their needs for discipline, tough assignments, risk-taking and the other attributes described by James. Among the major manifestations of risk-taking by young people in the 1980's are alcohol and drug abuse, careless and drunken driving, unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases. Examining the prevalence of such activities among a youth service group and a control group would provide important evidence. It would also be informative to compare participant behavior in a youth service program having strong discipline and tough assignments with one that is relatively undisciplined. One would hypothesize from reading James that the latter group would have a stronger proclivity to destructive forms of energy release. James attributed the martial character to the male of the species; one might analyze the data to determine whether there are differences between men and women in this regard and, if so, where they lie.

For nations, the question is whether commitment can replace the tokenism of the present. A recent survey by the National Service Secretariat (1985) showed only one 18-24 year old in full time civilian service (e.g. Peace Corps, VISTA, New York City Volunteer Corps) in the United States for every 168 persons of the same age on active duty with the armed forces. The margin narrows in Canada, where there was only one Katimavik participant for every 25 young people under arms. After 15 years of existence, the United Nations Volunteers, which fields multi-national teams to work on developmental projects, has about 1,000 participants. Nowhere does understanding flourish better than in settings where people of different backgrounds join in common endeavor. International service projects offer such opportunities. Bold and

imaginative leadership is needed to organize them on a scale that makes a difference. The challenge remains. The promise of national service, and international service, is yet to be realized.

The multi-dimensional nature of national service is at once its bane and its purpose. Although there are several possible paths to national service, they are dependent in varying degrees on crises or political inclinations. Those who perceive the promise of national service and who wish to pursue it in the 1990's are advised to recognize the many dimensions of national service and to subject them to an analytic and synthetic rigor not yet achieved.

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Youth Policy

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Base-line for a Future National Service

By Donald J. Eberly

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Youth Policy *continues to follow the resurgence of interest in National Service. Here Donald Eberly, director of the National Service Secretariat and the Coalition for National Service, a coalition of public interest groups dedicated to the idea of national youth service, presents the results of a recent survey on existing programs.*

At this writing, five Presidential candidates have expressed various degrees of support for national service and the Congress is considering nine national service bills, more than ever before. With this level of interest in national service, a number of questions about it become more insistent. What kind of work would they do? What kinds of young people would join? How much would it cost? Where would the money come from?

Given the number and variety of national service models that have been produced over the years, not all of the projections can be right and, given the history of results compared to theories, perhaps none of them will be right. Thinking that current experience could be a useful guide to a future national service, the National Service Secretariat in 1984 began to conduct the Youth Service Survey, to provide systematic, accurate data on existing programs.

There were two other reasons for the survey. First, we wanted current information to be shared by youth service administrators interested in what others are doing, by officials considering a youth service for their community, and by legislators interested in the potential of a national service program.

Second, we realize that large and significant efforts often start from small beginnings that leave few traces. If national service attains the promise many of us share, future historians may welcome a set of base-line data on its beginnings.

Criteria for the survey were shaped by the Secretariat's National Service Advisory Board. This 25-member body voted on several issues critical to a definition of national service. There was some disagreement as to the minimum service period allowable but otherwise there was a high degree of consensus that service programs should have the following characteristics:

- Emphasis on meeting human, social or environmental needs;
- No discrimination by race, sex, religion or income level;
- Year round activities;
- Enrollment periods of six months or longer;
- Full-time service during the enrollment period; and
- No displacement of employees nor impairment of existing service contracts.

In programs meeting these criteria, we decided to count only those participants who were 18-24, inclusive. Thus, we count partial enrollments in broad-age programs like the Peace Corps and VISTA; we exclude those religiously-sponsored service programs which impose religious requirements of participants; and we include one criterion that might not be found in a future national service; we count young people in programs limited to those who are unemployed.

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Overall enrollment trends are not as encouraging as youth service advocates would like. The end-of-year enrollment levels since the beginning of the survey were as follows:

Year	Total enrollment
1983	4,850
1984	7,100
1985	7,300
1986	5,800

Since these are year-round programs, the number of work-years differs little from end-of-year enrollments. There were 5,950 work-years of service performed in 1984, 6,075 in 1985, and 5,982 in 1986. Although one of the programs in the survey, the TVA Conservation Work Corps, was discontinued in 1986, the facts that other programs are coming on line in 1987 and that some existing programs are expected to show increased enrollments suggest that the curve will turn upward in 1987.

The survey contained only limited data on service activities in its first year because reporting procedures were so varied; some reported type of activity (e.g., health, housing, literacy), others by age of population served (e.g., infants, children, youth), and still others by kind of population served (e.g. migrants, refugees, women). The information for 1986 is almost totally complete and shows the following distribution of effort:

Activity or recipient	No. of work-years
Conservation	2,190
Recreation	842
Education	440
Environment	232
Public works	221
Health	218
Agriculture	206
Emergency relief	191
Economic development	177
Infants and children	137
Senior citizens	99
Energy	91
Disabled persons	90
Arts and museums	74
Food and nutrition	70
Literacy	70
Employment	67
Housing	44
Other and not reported	533
Total	5,982

Males outnumber females almost two to one, a fact that is related to the high proportion of males in conservation programs. The proportion of minorities in the survey is very close to the proportion of minorities in the overall population for this age group. The Peace Corps accounts for 92 percent of the college graduates and 21 percent of total enrollments. Demographic data follow:

Male	66.3%
Female	33.7%
Black	20.5%
Hispanic	11.0%
White	62.0%
Other	6.4%
High school drop-out	30.6%
High school grads only	38.6%
Some college	6.7%
College graduates	24.1%

A variety of educational linkages were reported by the 17 programs. Eleven of them require participants to attend school or courses or seminars; seven of them require

participants to write about their service experiences; the majority are programs which accept illiterate persons or high school dropouts which require them to attend literacy classes or to study for the G.E.D. Four programs help to arrange academic credit for learning acquired from the service experience, and seven programs provide or facilitate financial assistance for further study.

The 17 programs reported a total budget of $84.07 million in 1986; the Peace Corps and other programs accepting persons outside the 18-24 range pro-rated their budgets accordingly. Still, it is clear that not all programs use the same accounting methods. Probably the best guide to program costs is the median cost per work year of service; for 1986, that was $10,600. State and federal governments were the major supporters of youth service programs in 1986, contributing 83% of total budgets. The sources and amounts are given below:

Source	Amount (Millions)
States	$36.0
Federal government	33.7
Cities and countries	9.9
Private sector	4.2
Not reported	0.3
Total	$84.1

Twelve of the 17 programs reported that their budgets came from a single source, such as the state or federal government. The San Francisco Conservation Corps attracted the broadest array of support, with half its budget coming from the federal government and the balance from the state, the city, corporations and foundations. In the Washington Service Corps and the East Bay Conservation Corps, the organizations where young people serve are required to make financial contributions to the program.

The material benefits for youth service participants are packaged in a variety of ways. When the stipend, allowance, value of room and board, bonus and educational entitlement (all as applicable) are added together, the total for almost all participants is in the range of $6,000 to $10,000.

The method for calculating the value of services rendered by participants varied considerably among the seven programs that made such an assignment. Combined with variations in cost accounting methods, a wide range of benefit-cost methods is to be expected. The highest ratio reported was 7.36 by the Washington Service Corps and the lowest was 0.78 by the New York City Volunteer Corps. The median benefit-cost ratio, 1.36, is within the range of 1.0 to 2.0 which is typical of youth service programs.

Observations

The most striking observation is how sharply the 1986 enrollments contrast with periods when the federal government was serious about youth service. Some three million young men were in the Civilian Conservation Corps during the 1930s. Some of that time, CCC enrollment was higher than that of the active duty armed forces. Young people made up most of the Peace Corps and VISTA when they reached their peak enrollments—15,000 and 5,000—in the late 1960s. Ten years later, the Young Adult Conservation Corps enrolled some 20,000 young men and women at its peak. Today, enrollment in youth service as revealed by the Survey is less than 1 percent of the one million 18-24 year olds in the active duty armed services.

The profile of service activities is very different from that most often projected for national service. In *National Service: What Would It Mean?*, Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton suggest an aggregate demand for national service that looks like this:

Education	34%
Health	21%
Child Care	24%
Environment	5%
Other	16%

Comparable figures from the 1986 Survey reveal only 9 percent in education (education + literacy), 5 percent in health (health + disabled persons), and 16 percent

in child care (recreation + infants and children). On the other hand, 40 percent of the participants worked on environmental projects (conservation + environment). What is the reason for the disparity between prediction and reality? Is it because yesterday's predictions were off the mark? Is it because President Carter put in place a Young Adult Conservation Corps that, even though killed by the Reagan administration, offered a foundation from which state conservation corps easily emerged? Or is it because young people working in rural areas with things are easier to manage than young people working in cities with people in need?

The demographics also pose a question. While the overall profile of participants in 1986 was close to the national profile for the age group, individual programs vary widely. Of the larger programs, VISTA and the California Conservation Corps had the most representative profiles. However, minorities constituted 97 percent of the New York City Volunteer Corps and only 5 percent of the Peace Corps. Does this early imbalance in the City Volunteer Corps portend its future, just as the low proportion of minorities in the Peace Corps has not yet been overcome? Or can it be corrected?

In a period of increasing privatization, the private sector is maintaining a surprisingly low profile. Of the $84.1 million budget total, religious bodies contributed 4.4 percent, foundations gave 0.3 percent, and businesses and corporations gave 0.2 percent. It would seem to behoove the private sector to increase its participation in today's state and local youth service programs if it expects to have a seat at the table when a larger national service is formulated.

Bookkeeping should be regularized. Does the Washington State program really produce nearly 10 times as many benefits per dollar invested as the New York City program? If those who fill in the numerators and denominators of the benefit-cost ratios got together and agreed on valuation procedures and cost elements, it would be possible to compare apples with apples instead of apples with bagels.

Then there are the enrollment levels. It is appalling when people point to VISTA, as they sometimes do, as America's national service. True, it virtually carries that title and its legislation is written in a way that would permit it to become a national service if it had a budget commensurate with national needs. But its framers suggested an enrollment ceiling of 5,000 and that level has never been exceeded by more than a few hundred. The 1986 Survey revealed only 278 VISTA Volunteers between the ages of 18 and 24. Is there a danger that our state and local programs will become similarly constrained? Are they going to become the public sector equivalent of the American Friends Service Committee and other private sector efforts that are often as high in quality as they are low in total participation?

For a closer look at a number of current youth service programs, see the study series by Public/Private Ventures, 399 Market St., Philadelphia, PA 19106. For a complete survey report and information on the Coalition for National Service, write to the National Service Secretariat, 5140 Sherier Pl., NW, Washington, DC 20016.

REFLECTIONS

Over all these years, what has been accomplished as a result of what I have said and done? What are my thoughts after forty years of endeavor? I think I had some influence on the following developments.

National Service and Military Service

If a peacetime military draft becomes a major national issue, national service almost certainly will receive serious consideration and could be chosen over the draft. This has not previously been the case. After World War II, Universal Military Training (UMT) and a volunteer armed force were the alternatives considered. Although neither was adopted, UMT was favored by President Harry Truman and many others. In the late 1950s, as indicated in my correspondence with Congressman Bow, draft renewal was enacted without serious discussion of alternatives. I helped to put national service on the agenda in 1966 but President Johnson, after first embracing the idea, managed to get it shunted aside because of his decision to give top priority to the War in Vietnam. By the time Richard Nixon became President in 1969, his commitment to a volunteer military, combined with the opposition of many liberals to the draft, made the shift to the All-Volunteer Force in 1973 almost inevitable. Since then, almost any time the recruitment of military manpower is studied or debated, national service ranks with the draft and the volunteer military as one of the major options. Universal Military Training has, at least for the time being, dropped out of discussion.

Service-Learning

There has been a substantial increase in community service by high school and college students, as well as an increase in the integration of such service with students' formal curriculum. Much of this has been a local phenomenon, the result of initiatives by principals, teachers, students and others in the community. But I

have heard directly and indirectly from educators that what I and others have written has helped to inspire, inform and legitimize such initiatives. The distribution of a printed article on the service curriculum, for example, has helped to convince a school board or a faculty committee that service-learning activities are being carried on successfully elsewhere, make sense from an educational viewpoint, and are worth trying locally. Substantial contributions have been made in this area by Bill Ramsay with the Southern Regional Education Board, Owen Kiernan and Scott Thomson with the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and Jeanne Carney with ACTION's National Student Volunteer Program.

Youth's Opportunity to Choose

In a related area, I think I have elevated the respect that would be accorded to decisions young people make as to how they can best serve. In 1967, Senator Jacob Javits criticized my option plan, which would have enabled young men called for the draft to commit themselves at age 18 to a period of either civilian or military service. Javits' argument was based on the grounds that such a choice was properly one to be made by the government, not by the young man. He said that in the classic form of national service, civilian service assignments would be limited to those who had been rejected for the draft, presumably for medical, mental or moral reasons, and to those who had received deferments.[1] However, in virtually all of the draft-related national service bills subsequently introduced, including those of Rep. Jonathan Bingham (H.R. 18025-1970), Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., (H.R. 2206-1979), Rep. John Cavanaugh (H.R. 3603-1979), and Rep. Robert Torricelli (H.R. 2225-1987), the option plan is incorporated.

A number of state and local youth service initiatives have been influenced by my ideas and recommendations. Each of them, from the New York City Volunteer Corps to the Minnesota Youth Service, has also been influenced by local needs and constraints. Whether raising

money from a foundation or obtaining an appropriation from city hall, one's ideal design must often be adjusted before approval is given. If and when a National Youth Service Foundation comes into being, I am sure that some applicants will find its guidelines too confining. If operated properly, however, I would expect those who now seek financial support for youth service initiatives would find the Foundation's guidelines much more congenial than those with which they now must contend.

Disappointment

Less progress has been made in other areas. As much as I talk and write about the many dimensions of national service, I have difficulty convincing the listener or reader how powerful these facets make the idea. In February of 1977 I was interviewed on the MacNeil/Lehrer Report together with Sen. Sam Nunn and another man regarding the volunteer army, the draft and national service. Lehrer asked me what I thought of the "universal service idea as opposed to the volunteer approach." I replied that I thought it would be:

> *...a big mistake to design a national youth service program solely to respond to certain needs of the volunteer army, or the draft army, because when those needs went away, the national youth service program would go away. There are several major pieces of legislation in this Congress, introduced by such people as Senators Humphrey and Cranston and Kennedy, and Ambassador Young, before he went to the UN. And these would set up national youth service programs to meet the problem of unemployment of young people. There are three and a half million unemployed, looking-for-work people between the ages of 16 and 24 today. The major reason we need a national youth service program is the service needed by society....*[2]

I went on to describe some of the service needs but neither those needs nor the youth unemployment problem, which was a major issue at that time, were of interest

to either MacNeil or Lehrer that evening.

Surprises

There have been many surprises along the way. The biggest was in 1966 when Quakers and others strongly opposed to war came out against national service, sometimes with vehemence. It was hard for me to understand why the Quakers, who had formed the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in 1917 as an alternative to military service, would now oppose a similar idea. Radical changes of this nature – occurring at the same time as the views of those prepared to use the armed forces shifted from regarding national service as a "haven for draft-dodgers" to something that might "sweeten the draft" and thereby presumably reduce opposition to the Vietnam War – were a lesson in how strongly views are shaped by issues of the moment.

I have been surprised by the reluctance to test national service. With my scientific background, I assumed that a number of tests would be conducted in order to shed light on the idea and, if it seemed to be a good one, to indicate the best way to do it. But from 1967, when both the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and the National Service Conference recommended pilot projects, until PLS got underway in 1973, it was an all-or-nothing kind of debate.

Part of the problem was legislative authority. Federal funds are to be spent only for purposes authorized by law. That was why Blatchford could test domestic national service as director of ACTION but not as director of the Peace Corps.

Another part of the problem had to do with concentration of Federal dollars. Governors, mayors, and members of Congress spend a lot of time trying to get Federal money directed to their respective jurisdictions. Cabinet members and agency heads are also sensitive to allocations. Thus, it is much easier to allocate money to every state or to every Congressional district represented by a member of one's appropriations committee, than it is to put all the money for a certain program into a single state.

I have also been surprised by the kinds of people

who endorse national service. Before I started discussing it with many people, I had guessed that it would be most favored by educators, psychologists, and sociologists. Over a period of time, I learned that one's discipline was no predictor of support for national service. What did emerge was the influence of youthful experiences on attitudes toward national service. Those who had a national service kind of experience (such as overseas research or community service or conservation work) were most apt to support it. Those who did not tended to be persons without such experiences, like those who stayed in their home towns after completing school or persons who stayed on the academic track from school to college to graduate school.

My Overall Strategy

My strategy right along has been to synthesize and refine the kind of program by which the promise of national service could be achieved. Whether it has been a matter of linking service with education, training supervisors of national service participants, or determining the optimal size of conservation camps, I have incorporated what seems to me to be the most appropriate elements into the national service design. At the same time, I have tried to have on hand an up-to-date model of national service that relates to the needs of the time. Whether it was the draft or the All-Volunteer Force, the environment or illiteracy, high school dropouts or college students who didn't know why they were in college, I have tried to show how national service would relate to the issue of the day.

Why did I not return to my international career after having given national service a good try for a couple of years? With Nixon's election in 1968, when it was clear that national service would not be going anywhere for some time, I might well have done so but for two reasons.

First, national service was not treated the way I had thought it would be; namely, it would be studied and tested, then voted up or down by the Congress. The promise of national service was so great that I thought

it deserved reasonable treatment. I stayed with it to keep the idea alive, expecting that a politician or other major figure would carry forward the idea, or that events would conspire to again make national service a major issue. More prominent people who might have become standard bearers for national service seemed to lose interest in it when it was no longer a front page issue; I stuck with it and assumed that role.

Second, the United States started losing respect around the world. It had been an exemplary nation during most of my international career. This had made it easy for myself and other Americans abroad to be good patriots. The U.S.A. had practiced what it had preached about democracy, free enterprise, and social justice. We had defended our country when it hadn't quite lived up to the ideal. As a country we fell from our pedestal primarily because of the Vietnam War. I no longer harbored notions of one day becoming an American ambassador.

There was also the larger issue. How could America hope to convey its message of liberty, equality and brotherhood if it no longer exemplified these ideals? I had learned from my years abroad that an exemplary America exerted a more constructive influence on developing nations than billions of dollars of foreign aid.

It seemed to me that the most important thing I could do would be to help restore America's reputation – not in a superficial way, say, by trying to make us look good on the Voice of America, but in a genuine way that would enable Americans abroad to again be proud of their country.

I didn't have the money or charisma or instincts for a political career but I did have an identity with something that would help with the needed restoration. That something was national service. Just as I had once decided to try out national service for reasons that were both global and personal, I now decided for a different set of global and personal reasons to stick with it.

Also, why didn't I start a local youth service program and try to make it a showcase for national

service? First, I felt that I had had substantial experience with local youth service activities from my days in Nigeria, at ACTION and from keeping in close touch with youth service projects through the years. Second, I was well aware that the mere demonstration of a good idea, as with the Program for Local Service in Seattle, was not enough to carry it forward. I believed that my time was better spent helping a number of local efforts get off on the right foot, maintaining an active information service, building the Coalition for National Service, and working on legislative initiatives.

The Future

What does the future hold for national service? In the short run – for the balance of the 20th Century – I would like to see the state and local youth service programs grow in number and in enrollments, and receive some money from a federal agency dedicated to citizen service. I would also like to see the state and local programs develop a broader base of support so as to increase their stability. Drawing on the matrix put forward on p. 213, a typical youth service program in the 1990s might receive the following levels of support for a participant serving in a day care facility:

Day care money	$3,000
Sponsor's own money	1,000
State or city money	1,000
Citizenship money	3,000
Future employer's money	1,000
Education money	3,000
Total	$12,000

The day care money would come from a combination of sources, including Federal support for day care programs and foundation grants and contributions from business and industry. As the value of services rendered by the youth service participant in the course of a year would be about $12,000, the day care interests would receive a four-to-one return on their investment. The citizenship money would come from a National Youth Service Foundation or similar body that would receive

Congressionally-appropriated funds. The future employers' money would come mostly from local employers who would view their contributions as an investment in work experience and career exploration by future employees. The education money would come from a new GI Bill for National Service. However, the appropriations for this new entity would probably be "old" money, derived from a partial shift of the tax dollars that now go into student loan and grant programs.

Also in the short run, I would like to see some experiments to help determine the upper limits of national service. While I am fully confident that we can manage one million young people in full-time, year-round civilian service, I cannot say the same for three or four million. We still need to do a Needs Project and a Resources Project as outlined in "A National Service Pilot Project" (p. 122). Also, to test the relative proportions of young people likely to volunteer for military and for civilian service, the Resources Project could be modified to include a military service option.

Realistically, it is unlikely that the nicely balanced group of funding sources or the nicely designed experiments will take place. It is more likely that national service will continue to be deferred for one reason or another until circumstances force us into a crash program. Still, by holding out a sensible array of realistic options, we may be able to make some progress toward the ideal.

In the long run – the 21st Century – there may be a need for many more people to become involved in service activities. If the computer-assisted revolution continues, it seems likely that it will de-personalize business and education and other major endeavors and lead to a demand for new forms of human intercourse. It is also possible that the computer will go a long way toward meeting the physical needs of such large groups of people as the elderly, the sick and the disabled, but will not be able to give them the personal attention that once accompanied such physical ministrations. The tens of millions of part-time volunteers who serve today and the one million national service par-

ticipants – who could be serving by 2000 – may be inadequate to the demand.

To deal with this problem of the computer age, what may emerge is a graduated service program in which school children visit the needy and learn about their situation, high school age persons serve part-time during the school year and full-time during the summer, those in the 18-24 year range spend a year in full-time service, college students engage in service-learning programs well integrated with their courses, those between 25 and retirement age have opportunities for one-year service sabbaticals, and retired persons participate in a senior service program that utilizes their talents while easing the burden on social security. The challenge will be to do all this in a way that maximizes opportunity and support without imposing too much control and coercion.

The youth service philosophy and debate and experimentation of the 20th Century may help to inform the lifetime service debate of the 21st Century.

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1. U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, *Manpower Implications of Selective Service*, 90th Congress, First Session, 1967, p. 112.

2. Transcript of the MacNeil/Lehrer Report for Wednesday, February 23, 1977.

Abbreviations

ACTION	*[Not an acronym — a U.S. Govt. agency: The Agency for Volunteer Service]*
AFSC	*American Friends Service Committee*
AID	*Agency for International Development*
CIA	*Central Intelligence Agency*
CO	*Conscientious Objector*
ECS	*Education Commission of the States*
EWA	*Education and World Affairs*
FSSP	*Foreign Student Summer Project*
IAESTE	*International Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience*
ICA	*International Cooperation Administration*
IDPA	*International Development Placement Association*
IIE	*Institute of International Education*
ILGWU	*International Ladies Garment Workers' Union*
NAFSA	*National Association for Foreign Student Affairs*
NASSP	*National Association of Secondary School Principals*
NSA	*National Student Association*
OMB	*Office of Management and Budget*
PLS	*Program for Local Service*
ROTC	*Reserve Officers' Training Corps*
SREB	*Southern Regional Education Board*
SRI	*Stanford Research Institute*
UMT	*Universal Military Training*
UN	*United Nations*
UNICEF	*United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund*
VISTA	*Volunteers in Service to America*
YACC	*Young Adult Conservation Corps*
YCP	*Youth Challenge Program*
YCS	*Youth Community Service*

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